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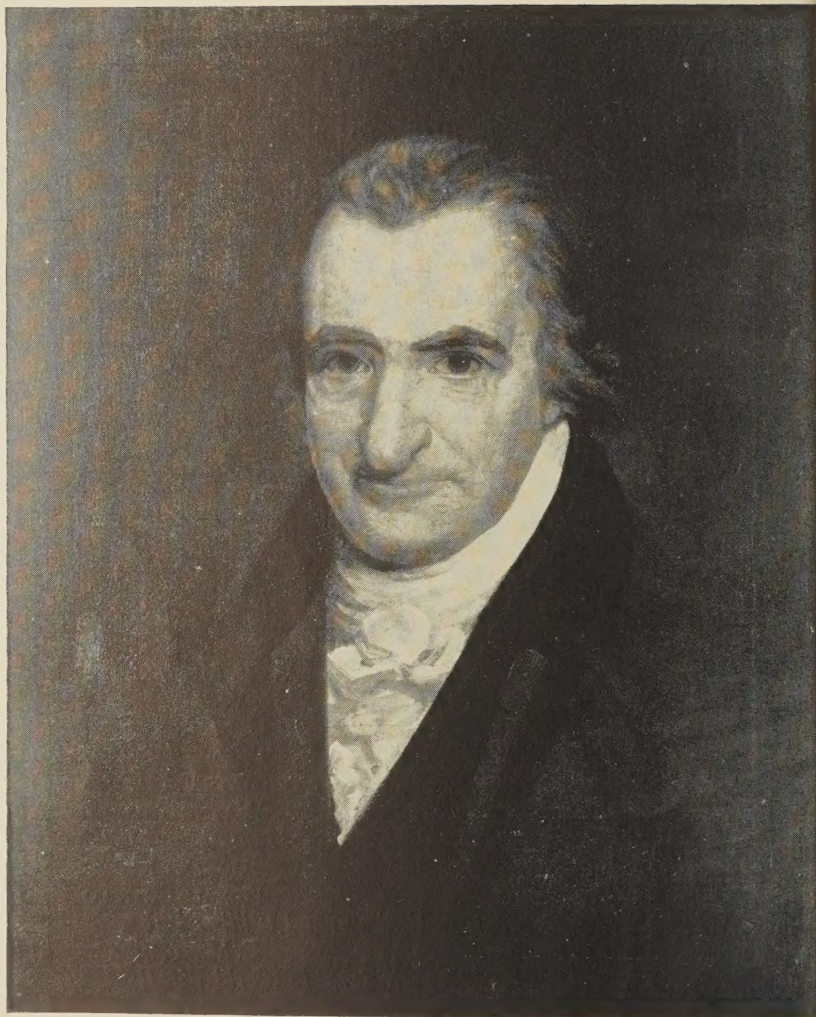
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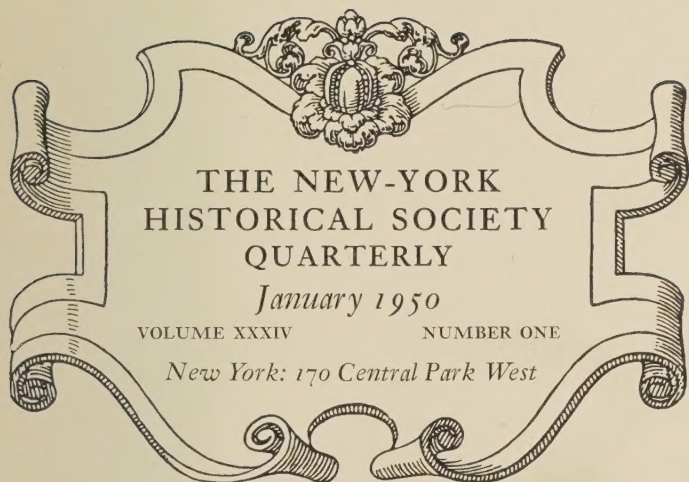


THOMAS PAINE (1737-1809)

By John Wesley Jarvis, c. 1805

[The only known extant life portrait of the subject, here reproduced photographically for the first time]

By courtesy of the owner, Miss Marian Bridge Maurice



THE JARVIS PORTRAIT OF THOMAS PAINE

by HAROLD E. DICKSON

IN THE course of my recently completed study of the life and work of the painter Jarvis (*John Wesley Jarvis: American Painter 1780-1840, with a Checklist of His Works*, The New-York Historical Society, 1949), I found references to a documented original portrait of Thomas Paine by Jarvis. Evidence indicated that it might be the picture reproduced in an engraving by Julius R. Ames, a son of the portrait painter Ezra Ames, published in *The Bible of Nature, and substance of virtue, Condensed from the scriptures of eminent cosmians, pantheists and physisiphilanthropists, of various ages and climes* (Albany, 1842). The print shows a head-and-shoulders likeness of Paine, turned slightly to the observer's right, surrounded by an elaborate frame composed of symbolic details, and it is inscribed, "J. W. Jarvis, pinxt 1805." However, the portrait itself could not be located, and in the end I concluded a chapter on Paine and Jarvis with evidence pertaining to it and with the remark that "if this elusive

The Jarvis Portrait of Thomas Paine

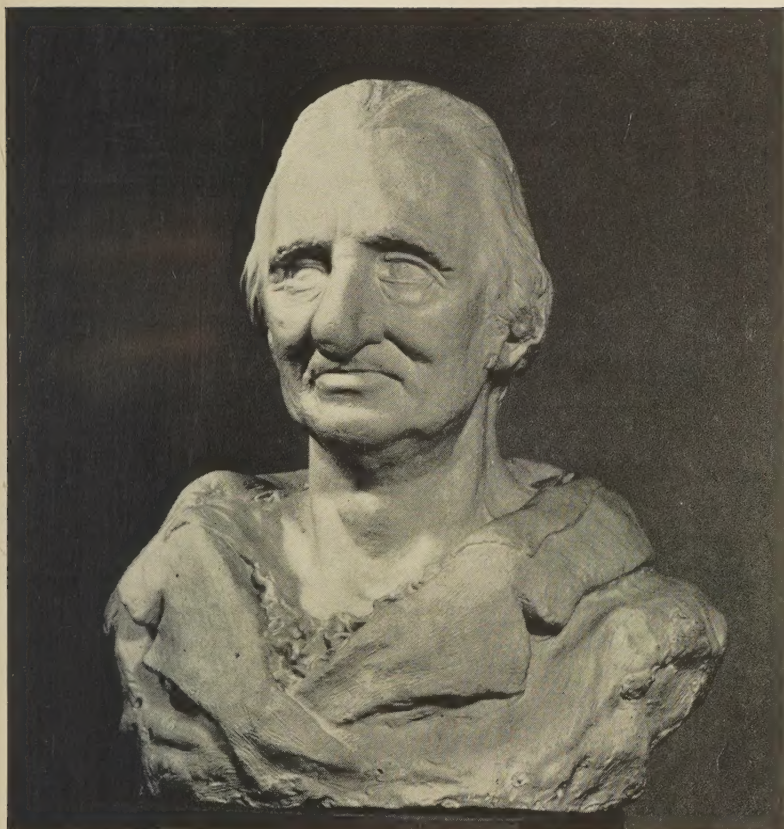
picture should still exist and prove to be as authentic as its inscription sounds, its discovery would be an important one."

Ironically, a reference to my forthcoming publication that appeared in Helen Worden's column, "About People," in the *New York Herald Tribune* of July 29, 1949, brought about the portrait's "discovery" even before the Jarvis book had come from the press, but too late to be treated therein. Information about it was sent to me by Miss Margaret Stewart Maurice and by Miss Marian Bridge Maurice who owns the picture, and I have since been permitted to examine it at their home in Athens, Pennsylvania.

The painting is in prime condition. It is on canvas and measures $24\frac{1}{2}$ by $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the head of Paine being $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. A background of clear brown is close in value to the olive drab of Paine's velvet-collared cape. The hair is dark brown, shot through with gray. Although this is one of the artist's earliest known works, the brushwork is assured and far from simple in its laying-on of semi-transparent tones. Stuart-like colors are used for the flesh, with a particularly ruddy area on each cheek and bluish effects about mouth and eyes. Pupils of the eyes are a dark olive gray, close to the color of the cape.

Persons who knew Paine commented frequently on his penetrating gaze. To Charles Lee he was "the man who had genius in his eyes." In Jarvis' portrait the eyes are animated and Paine seems in fairly hale condition for his nearing three-score and ten. He does not show here the signs of final decline that Jarvis afterward recorded in The New-York Historical Society's plaster bust, which may have been executed from the death mask also at the Society. And there is visible no trace of that "scorbutic eruption" which reddened Paine's large nose in his last years.

The earliest dated reference to any Jarvis portrait comes from 1803, when Thomas Weeks recorded in his diary some sittings for a portrait that has disappeared. But if the *Paine* canvas was painted in 1805 it shares with one other picture of that same year, a portrait of *Dr. William Linn*, the honor of being the earliest



PLASTER BUST OF THOMAS PAINE

By John Wesley Jarvis

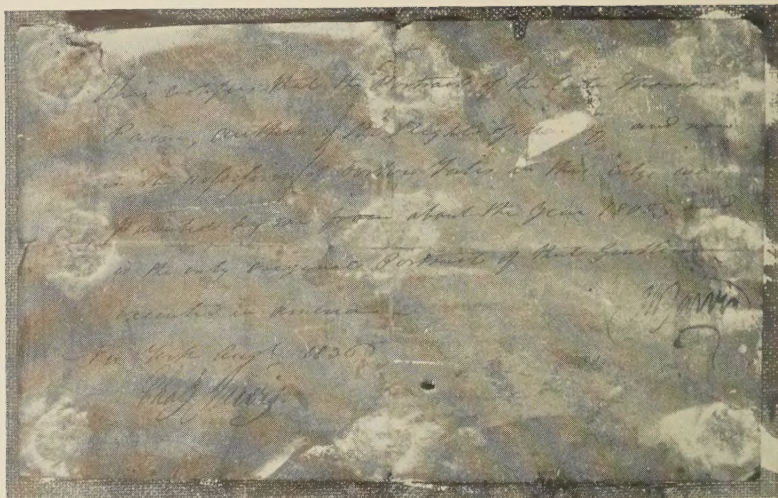
Gift of the artist, 1817

of paintings by Jarvis so far located. Evidence for the date is contained in a document pasted on the back of the canvas, reading as follows:

This certifies that the portrait of the late Thomas Paine, author of the "Rights of Man" and now in the possession of Dr. Yates of this city was painted by me about the year 1805, and is the only original portrait of that gentleman executed in America.

New York Aug. 1836
CHAS. JARVIS

J. W. JARVIS



CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP OF THE PAINE PORTRAIT
Signed by the artist, "J. W. Jarvis," and glued to the canvas

John Wesley Jarvis signed his late letters as he did this paper with the flourish of a loop around his name. But the rest of the certificate is evidently in the handwriting of his son Charles who also added his own signature. Two years before the date of writing the elder Jarvis had been incapacitated by a paralytic stroke, and by 1836 he was disposing of many of his possessions, with Charles in complete management of his affairs.

The picture's owner at the time can be identified as Dr. Christopher C. Yates, who resided then at No. 23 Murray Street. Jarvis had been well acquainted with members of the medical profession in New York City and he had worked with the doctors during the cholera epidemic of 1832, on which Dr. Yates had published an article. But while Yates has been described as "a man well read in his profession, and of considerable intellectual ability and culture," he somehow brought himself into ill repute, so that it could be said, "his influence upon the profession and upon society was demoralizing" (*Cyclopedia of American Medical Biography* [1912], II:542-3). Perhaps he was an

avowed deist; this might account for any amount of social ostracism and for his wanting to own a certified portrait of Thomas Paine.

Jarvis' likeness was not actually the only life portrait of Paine executed in this country—C. W. Peale had painted him once, perhaps twice, in the seventeen-eighties—but it may well have been the only one produced during the subject's last sojourn here.*

Paine had returned to America in 1802, and during his remaining years he lived for the most part in New York City and nearby New Rochelle. From November 1806 through April 1807 he stayed with Jarvis at No. 85 Church Street, New York. At the end of that period the artist reported in a letter to C. B. King: "he [Paine] is one of the most pleasant companions I have met with for an old man."

Jarvis evidently had painted Paine before receiving him as a roomer. His having done so was later confirmed by Mme. Margaret Bonneville when she gave data for a proposed life of Paine to William Cobbett. But the earliest real evidence pertaining to this picture consists of notations in Thomas Sully's register and in his diary under date of December 2, 1807, recording delivery of a portrait of Paine "copied from Jarvis and sold to him," the price being \$30.

The *Paine* canvas which belonged to Dr. Yates in 1836 and which Jarvis himself dated "about 1805" may have been the original which Sully copied. In any case it is obviously the one reproduced, though in reverse, in Ames' engraving for *The*

* *I.e.*, the only oil painting: Moncure Daniel Conway (see appendix of his great biography of Paine) had seen in England a late drawing of Paine made by a young Englishman, William Constable, who toured the United States in 1806-7. It may be noted here that Conway also had seen another Paine portrait in oils said to have been painted by J. W. Jarvis in 1803. But although Conway regarded this as "the truest portrait of Paine" it appears in copies by Jarvis' son Charles and by Bass Otis (in Independence Hall, Philadelphia) to have been based on the popular and widely circulated picture by George Romney. And the certificate written for the picture here being discussed indicates that Jarvis painted no other "original portrait" of Paine. There is, however, a silhouette of Paine by Jarvis reproduced by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association as frontispiece to Vol. 10 of its *The Life and Works of Thomas Paine* (1925).

Bible of Nature, printed in 1842 at Albany where Dr. Yates then seems to have been living. And it must also have been the portrait "full size of Thomas Paine, by the elder Jarvis, the only one which Mr. Jarvis ever painted of him," which in 1845 was thus advertised as for sale in Gilbert Vale's magazine *The Beacon* (Third Series, IX:159). It was then in a "handsome frame" which has disappeared, and hope was expressed that it might be purchased to be hung in "some public place."

The next trace of it appears in a letter belonging to the present owner of the picture. Writing from Washington in November 1868 one Amelia Ferguson gave authorization to Mrs. Horatio Bridge, wife of Commodore Bridge, U. S. N., to dispose of the canvas for not less than \$30. But Mrs. Bridge evidently retained the portrait, bringing it in the eighteen-eighties to Athens, Pennsylvania, where it hung in her house up to the time of her death in 1904. It was then inherited by her niece in whose possession it has remained.

Originals of the Paine portraits by George Romney, Charles Willson Peale, and François Bonneville, all known through engravings, are at present unlocated. But we can now strike from the record the recent statement of Alon Bement, who after searching for a real likeness (*Antiques*, LVI:34-5) concluded "that there is no definitely verified original portrait of Thomas Paine." I know of no previous reproduction of the picture here presented other than the Ames engraving of a century ago. After its retirement to Athens it was known to very few, although Conway had heard of it before his death and James B. Elliot who assisted him in the work on Paine afterward came to see it. But now this well-documented and unquestionably authentic portrait of Paine by John Wesley Jarvis can be given rightful recognition as the last and at present the only located painting from life of one who played an effective role in the founding of our nation.



T. H. Excellency JOHN MONTGOMERIE Esq.
Govr of the Prov^t of New York
at Fort George & Mth Hamilton's L^{ts}

THE WILLIAM BURGIS VIEW OF FORT GEORGE, c. 1730/31

The New-York Historical Society

UNKNOWN VIEWS OF OLD NEW YORK

by R. W. G. VAIL

THIS is the third of a series of views of New York City not previously published in the form in which they are now presented. The two earlier views were from the Ogden Goelet-Lucius Wilmerding collection and others from this source will appear later in the series.

III

The William Burgis View of Fort George, circa 1730-1731

William Burgis, described in the early records of Boston as *Gentleman, painter or draftsman*, had the distinction of producing the most important and most sought-after early views of New York, Boston, and Harvard College. He is first discovered in New York in the years 1716-1718 busily at work on his *A South Prospect of y^e Flourishing City of New York in the Province of New York in America* which was engraved in London by John Harris about 1718-1721. Two copies of this great panorama have survived, a perfect one owned by Mr. Edward W. C. Arnold and the other, lacking most of its descriptive text, by this Society. At least by October 8, 1722, Burgis had removed to Boston where he lived at the Crown Coffee House and busied himself with the drawing of *A North East View of Boston* which was never published and of *A South East View* which appeared in 1723—the earliest view of that city to be published. While living in Boston he also published *A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England*, 1726, the first published view of Harvard, which was followed the next year by *A Draught of the Meeting House of the Old Church in Boston*. In 1729 he issued a *Plan of Boston in New England* and a view of Boston Light, the latter a crude mezzotint and probably the only one of this group of New England prints both drawn and executed by Burgis.

When Thomas Selby, landlord of the Crown Coffee House,

died, Burgis married his widow Mehitable on October 1, 1728, took over the running of the tavern, ran through part of the estate he had secured by marriage and finally decamped, at least by September 17, 1730. His wife, who continued to run the tavern in a disorderly manner, tried unsuccessfully to secure a divorce on July 26, 1736, *setting forth that her Husband William Burgess having got what he could of her estate into his hands about five years since left her, and has never returned into the Province again. . . .*

Having escaped from the clutches of his wife and the law in Boston, Burgis reappeared in New York in 1730 or 1731, produced two more prints and then disappeared forevermore. One of these was his *View of the New Dutch Church . . . founded A.D. 1727 and finishe^d. A.D. 1731* which was probably issued in the latter year or the year following, and the other was a crudely executed mezzotint of Fort George probably published in 1730 or 1731. This and the mezzotint of the Boston Light are probably the only prints both drawn and executed by Burgis.

The recently discovered print bears the following inscription: *To His Excellency Iohn* [coat of arms of the Montgomery family] *Montgomerie Esq^r./Capⁿ. Gene^l. & Gov^r. in Chief of his Maj^s. Provinces of New-York New-Jersey, & Territories depending thereon, & Vice Admiral of the/Same &c, This View of Fort George is Most humbly Dedic^d. by his Excellency^s Most humble & Most Obed^t Ser^t W^m Burgis* [New York, 1730-1731]. 12 x 8½ inches, plus margins. Original coloring of blue sky, green foliage and water are faded; red and blue of towers, red, white and blue of flags and pennants, and red and yellow of ship and small boats may be original or may be touched up at a later date, though not recently. Quarterings of coat of arms in red and blue. Right-hand margin slightly defective. Preserved in an eighteenth-century, though not the original, frame.

Since this view is dedicated to Governor Montgomery it could not have been published before April 15, 1728 when Montgomery arrived in New York or later than July 1, 1731 when he

died at Fort George; and since Burgis was not in Boston after September 17, 1730 the print must have appeared either in 1730 or 1731.

This is the first view of New York from the west and the first mezzotint of the city. Fort George, as it was called during this period, was built on the site of the present Custom House on Bowling Green. It was begun in 1626 or earlier, often rebuilt, and torn down in 1790. At the left end of the view is a group of houses outside the fort and, at the right, the tower of the Secretary's Office which stood inside the fort to the west of the gate and was built before 1658 and burned in 1741. Adjoining it at the right are the barracks, the Governor's house and the Chapel in the Fort. The latter was built in 1642, torn down in 1693, rebuilt in 1693-1696, repaired and tower probably made taller, 1726-1727, and burned in 1741. At the right and back of the fort is another group of houses. A British flag in full colors flies from a bastion of the fort. In the right foreground a British man-of-war is under sail; a large flag in full colors flies at the stern and her guns are firing a full broadside for no apparent purpose. She is towing a small boat, and a rowboat with two passengers is in the left foreground.

Our apparently unique copy was recently picked up in a miscellaneous bundle sold in a Washington, D. C. auction of the effects of an Englishman and was bought by a doctor of that city who sold it to the Old Print Shop. It was first reproduced in *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, December, 1948, and was secured from them by this Society in 1949. It was unknown to Stokes and has never been previously described.*

At some time between 1731 and 1736 an unknown artist made an enlarged drawing based on this view showing the city at the left of the fort, including five churches and the City Hall. The same ship with boat in tow is in the right foreground but the

* After the present article went to press, a second reproduction, with an account of the print, appeared in *The Connoisseur*, December 1949, pp. 116-117. It is here reproduced from the Old Print Shop cut through the courtesy of Mr. Harry Shaw Newman and The New York State Historical Association.



South West View of Fort George with the City of New York

COPPERPLATE REËNGRAVING OF THE CARWITHAM VIEW

Based upon the original Burgis View of Fort George, c. 1730/31

From William Russell's *History of America*, Vol. II (London: 1778)

rowboat now has five passengers and a longboat containing thirteen passengers and crew appear in the lower left corner. This view was engraved in London by I. Carwitham and so is known as The Carwitham View. It was published in a series of views of cities by Carington Bowles of London, this and the companion pictures of Boston (improved from the earlier Burgis view of that city) and Philadelphia being in the Stokes Collection at the New York Public Library. The first issue of the New York view has no imprint and the only known copy is in the Library of Congress. It was later reprinted, both with and without reference numbers, and with changes in the numbering of the print, by Bowles and Carver with the title changed to: *A South West View of the City of New York in North America*. This last state appeared no earlier than 1794 and was being reprinted at least as

late as 1825, according to the date in the watermark. It was also issued in this state with an American flag painted over the engraved British flag.

This view, reengraved on copper ($8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ inches), appears in William Russell's *History of America*, London, 1778, vol. II, opposite p. 270. It is here reproduced from a copy in the Society's library. The original Carwitham View was reproduced in *Valentine's Manual*, 1858, opposite page xii and a separate process reproduction on old paper was issued prior to 1932.

References: I. N. Phelps Stokes: *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 1915, Vol. I, pp. 239-269; I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell: *American historical prints*, New York, 1932, pp. 23-24; Hamilton Vaughan Bail: *Views of Harvard to 1860*, Part II, in *Harvard Library Bulletin*, Spring, 1947, pp. 185-211; Justin Winsor: *Memorial history of Boston*, Vol. II, 1881, pp. 530-532; John H. Edmonds: *The Burgis-Price view of Boston*, in *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications*, Vol. XI, 1910, pp. 245-262; William Russell: *History of America*, Vol. II, London, 1778, plate opposite p. 270.



UTICA: FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (LEFT)

Blue Staffordshire Platter by Thomas Godwin after W. H. Bartlett's

A POSTSCRIPT TO AMERICAN CHURCHES PICTURED ON OLD BLUE CHINA

by ARTHUR H. MERRITT

ONE of the rewards attending the publication of an article on historic buildings or events, is the letters which one receives calling attention to errors which may have been made or to additional data not generally known. This has been the happy experience of the author since the publication of his article in the July 1949 issue of *The New-York Historical Society's Quarterly*.

Utica

New light on the Utica church, left unidentified in the author's July article, has been furnished by Miss Alice Cynthia Dodge, Librarian of the Utica Public Library. She reports that the Library has several prints of an engraving showing "Washington & Genesee Streets 1838," by W. H. Bartlett, also a print of a watercolor made from the engraving. The latter print, Miss Dodge points out, is inscribed: "Washington Street [on the left], with the *First Presbyterian Church*. At the foot of Genesee Street [on the right] is seen the depot of the Utica and Schenectady Railroad."

This identifies the church and makes it clear that the building at the foot of Genesee Street is not a church, which it resembles, but a railroad station.

Miss Dodge also inclosed with her letter a copy of the print, which is identical with the engraving entitled "Utica" in Bartlett's *American Scenery*, except that the latter makes no mention of the streets or of the buildings clearly shown in the engraving.



BAPTIST CHURCH, BALLSTON SPRINGS, NEW YORK
Brown Vegetable Dish by Charles Meigh after Bartlett drawing, 1838
Collection of Mrs. Ellouise Baker Larsen

The Ballston Springs Church

Among the several items referred to in the author's July article in which partial views of unidentified churches were to be seen, was one in Ballston Spa (or Springs), New York. This church has since been identified by Noel Blecker Fox, Esq., of this City "as the Baptist Church of which my grandfather, Norman Fox, was the pastor at the time this view was published.* He was its

* Mr. Fox has since informed me that to the best of his knowledge the church was known as "The Baptist Church of Ballston Spa."

pastor for 12 years beginning in 1838. . . . The church was built in 1835 and the last service in it was held in 1896 when it was replaced by a new church in another part of the village. . . . A picture of the church, from a photograph, appears on page 78 of *Centennial History of the Village of Ballston Spa*, by E. F. Grose, 1907." This is important data for which the author is indebted to Mr. Fox.

Mormon Temple

Among the churches referred to in the July issue of the *Quarterly* was the Mormon Temple which has long been a puzzle to collectors of these wares. Where the plate depicting this temple was made and whether it was Staffordshire ware, has never been clearly established. It will be remembered from the July article that the plate is clearly marked "J. Twigg," with no other description of the maker.

In a letter from Mr. Arthur W. Clement of Brooklyn, the belief is expressed that these plates were made in England, and in confirmation of this belief, Mr. Clement refers to Jewitt's *Ceramic Art of Great Britain* (London: 1878), page 527, volume one.

There the statement is made that "at Kilnhurst, a place which one would naturally say took its name from pot works, is a manufactory of earthenware known as the 'Kilnhurst Old Pottery.' . . . In 1839 it came into the hands of Messrs. Twigg Brothers. It is now carried on by the surviving partner, Mr. Twigg, who produces the usual varieties of earthenware and has made some successful trials on china. . . . The Newhill Pottery was established in 1822 by Mr. Joseph Twigg, who up to that time had the management of the Swinton Old Pottery, by whom, in partnership with his sons, John, Benjamin and Joseph Twigg, it was carried on until about 1866."

In a letter under date of September 25, 1949, Mr. William E. Cross of Middletown, N. Y., writes: "I have this morning been reading from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and believe that the



MORMON TEMPLE, NAUVOO, ILLINOIS, 1841-1845
Medium Blue Sacramental Plate by J[oseph] Twigg

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. William E. Cross

Mormon plate was unquestionably made in England. I am acquainted with the grandson of Heber C. Kimball who now resides in Salt Lake City. I find that this same Heber C. Kimball whose name appears at the top of the plate, along with a man named Orson Hyde (both of the 12 apostles), along with other elders, began preaching in Lancashire and after eight months had baptized some 2,000 people. Theirs was the first of many missions in European countries. When we tie this 1837 date of these two apostles being in England, as missionaries from Nauvoo, and then

refer to Twigg Brothers obtaining the Kilnhurst Old Pottery in 1839, it seems reasonable to believe that the [Mormon] plate was made in England at the behest of the Mormons."

It is reported that Kimball was born in East (some say West) Bloomfield, N. Y., where he operated a pottery before his conversion to Mormonism. After his conversion he sold his farm and migrated westward. Mr. R. W. G. Vail, the Society's director, suggests that "While Kimball was proselyting in England, it would have been quite natural for him as a one-time potter to take an interest in the Staffordshire wares then being made for the American market and to have suggested the Nauvoo temple as a fitting subject."

While it has not been definitely established that plates with views of the Mormon Temple were made in England, it is logical to presume that to have been the case until proved to the contrary. The fact that there was a potter in England in the 1840's by the name of Twigg makes it almost certain these plates were made there.

The example illustrated for the first time herewith is the only perfect specimen known to be extant. It was recently discovered by Mr. William E. Cross of Middletown, New York, and purchased by him for presentation as a Christmas gift to his wife. This being the second located copy of this rarity and the only recorded perfect specimen, Mrs. Cross was indeed the recipient of a unique gift. The potter's mark on the back of the plate, in the same medium blue as the face of the plate, is reproduced for the first time below.





A BUFFALO SURROUND IN THE PAWNEE COUNTRY, 1837

Sepia wash drawing by Alfred Jacob Miller, 1840

THE FIRST ARTIST OF THE OREGON TRAIL

by R. W. G. VAIL

ONE DAY in the spring of 1837 Alfred Jacob Miller, a young Baltimore artist of 26, was busily painting in his New Orleans studio where he had set himself up as a portrait and landscape painter after having studied under Thomas Sully and in the ateliers of Paris and Rome. While he was at work a well-dressed, military-looking stranger came into the studio, nodded to the artist and began looking around. After a favorable comment on the paintings he saw he departed without buying anything, to the disappointment of young Miller. But he reappeared in a few days and, having introduced himself as Captain William Drummond Stewart of the British Army, explained that he was about to set out on his fifth summer of hunting in the Far West and wanted a competent painter to go along and record the plains, the mountains, the Indians, and the wild life of the region in a series of sketches to be developed later into a number of large oil paintings for the adornment of his home, Murthly Castle in Perthshire, Scotland. He explained that he liked Miller's work and invited him to join the hunting party as its pictorial diarist.

Captain Stewart, a man of 41 and a veteran of Waterloo, had resigned his commission and, being the younger son of a titled Scottish family, preferred the vigorous and romantic life of the Plains and the Rockies to the humdrum existence of a British country gentleman with an uncongenial wife. He had also quarrelled with his older brother, Sir John Archibald Stewart, the sixth Baronet, and so had ample reason for seeking a fresher and more exhilarating life than he could find in his ancestral estates of Murthly, Grandtully, Logiealmond, and Shakespeare's Birnam Wood. Captain Stewart had been one of the first of many British sportsmen to hunt in the Far West, was experienced as a hunter and Indian fighter and had made friends with the wild race of Mountain Men, the free trappers of the West. He was a natural

leader of men and, though he enjoyed sumptuous living, could rough it with the best of them and was an ideal leader of such an expedition as he now proposed. Of course the romantic young artist promptly accepted his offer.

Miller joined Captain Stewart at New Orleans and during April of 1837 they made their way to St. Louis and from there went up the Mississippi and Missouri to Independence, the jumping-off place for the Oregon Trail. They then followed the Platte River across the Plains and through the Pawnee country to Fort Laramie and during this stage of their journey encountered great herds of buffalo which are recorded in many of Miller's sketches, including the one to be described in this article. The progress of their expedition and their later adventures are delightfully described by Bernard De Voto in his *Across the Wide Missouri*, 1947, which illustrates 68 of the 300 sketches which Miller made. Aside from Captain Stewart and Miller, the outstanding member of the party was Antoine Clement, a half-breed, head man and chief hunter of the expedition. He was a great favorite with Stewart and finally accompanied him back to Scotland to become one of his retainers at Murthly Castle where Miller met him again in 1840.

Mr. De Voto says of the Miller sketches, in the preface to his book, "They are the only paintings of Rocky Mountain trappers actually made on the spot and the first paintings ever made of the Rocky Mountains, the scenery along the trail to Oregon, and the Westernmost Plains Indians." His pictures of the Far West are therefore of the greatest historical importance, for he was the only artist who got to this region in time to record the untouched Far West of the Rocky Mountain trapper, the fur caravan and the summer rendezvous of the Mountain Men as well as the Indians of the region before they began to degenerate. His canvases pictured the West before the advent of the covered wagon, the pony express, the stagecoach, the cowboy, and the migrations to Oregon and California. Within half a dozen years or less the beaver, the buffalo, the antelope, the Mountain Men had all but

disappeared and Miller had the distinction of being the only artist to record them, though Catlin, Bodmer, and others left a record of the Indians and the scenery farther East.

It seems to have been Miller's practice to make hasty pencil sketches in his pocket notebook on the spot. These he improved on in his wash drawings, made with sepia and black ink, sometimes heightened with white. Some of them were then developed into fully colored sketches when he returned to camp. These sketches have great vigor, freshness, and naturalness and are full of life and action, whereas the large oil paintings which he made from them later for the adornment of his patron's castle and hunting lodge, while more massive, are more conventionalized and generally dull in color.

While Captain Stewart was still in the United States his brother died on May 20, 1838, and the Captain became Sir William Drummond Stewart, seventh Baronet, and so was compelled to return to Scotland in May, 1839. Miller, having returned to his studio after the end of the hunting expedition, completed a few of the large paintings for Murthly Castle, exhibited them at the Apollo Gallery in New York and had them ready for the Baronet to take back with him. The following summer of 1840 Miller joined his patron at Murthly Castle and there completed the rest of the series of large oil paintings by 1841 and spent some time in London before sailing for Baltimore in April, 1842. He was comfortably well off through some fortunate investments in his brother's business but continued as a painter of portraits and landscapes, though he had by this time established a reputation as an artist of the Indians and the West. Some of his best work, based on his original sketches, is now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, including a variant of our painting.

Miller died in 1874 and many of his paintings and sketches are still owned by members of his family. Mrs. Clyde Porter, the leading authority on Miller as an artist, bought a hundred of the original sketches from the family in 1936, the best of which are reproduced in Mr. De Voto's book. Several of the larger oil paint-

ings from Murthly Castle were brought to this country a few years ago and are now to be found in various western art galleries and in the private collection of Mr. E. D. Graff.

Plate LXI of Mr. De Voto's book is entitled *A Surround* and pictures a buffalo hunt by Plains Indians, perhaps the Pawnees on the prairies between Council Bluffs and Fort Laramie. Mounted Indians are chasing and killing buffalo in the foreground and large herds are scattered across vast plains in the distance. There are mountains in the extreme right distance and in the left foreground there is a small knoll with an Indian pony standing, with a papoose in a baby frame hanging from the pony's neck. The artist has written a pencilled note on the far left horizon reading: *More space* and on the middle horizon the word: *Dust*, indicating corrections to be made on a later finished sketch. It is titled, numbered 176 but unsigned. This original sketch, which is owned by Mrs. Clyde Porter, was presumably made on the plains during the expedition in 1837. Mr. De Voto says of it: "An authentic study—all the details stand up under minute examination."

Single sketches by Miller have almost never been offered for sale, most of them being still held by members of the family, by Mrs. Porter, or, in the form of Miller's later copies, by the Walters Art Gallery. This Society was fortunate in securing this year a second version of the sketch: *A Surround* which came from a private collector who originally secured it in Great Britain. It came to us as the gift of Messrs. Dunlap, Streeter, Wickes, Wills, and Zabriskie of our Board of Trustees. It is described as follows:

A sepia wash drawing heightened with white, $14\frac{7}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ inches; the upper right-hand half of the picture originally drawn on a separate sheet of paper ($9\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ inches), with an L-shaped piece of paper added at left and below, as indicated in illustration by arrows. Same subject as plate LXI of the De Voto book but redrawn and considerably improved in composition. Where the artist had indicated the need for *More space* in the original sketch, greater distance has been added in this second version and where

he indicated the need for *Dust* on the middle horizon, dust clouds have been included. The Indian pony with baby frame has disappeared from the knoll at left and this knoll has been enlarged with a tree above and shrubbery below. Under the tree two men watch the hunt from horseback, one in buckskins and a black hat, on a white horse, the other in profile with long hair and a soft white hat, on a dark horse. The wash drawing is inscribed in the lower left corner: XXI/1840/[monogram:] A J M. There is a faint indication of lettering between the date and the monogram which may be the almost obliterated title: *A Surround*.

The date 1840 on the drawing shows that it was made while Miller was at Murthly Castle working on the series of large oil paintings and it is probable that it was the preliminary sketch for one of them, but not the painting with the same title now in the Philbrook Art Museum at Tulsa, Oklahoma, which is more like plate V of the book but with minor features suggested by our sketch.

It is not difficult to answer the questions as to the identity of the two men on horseback and the reason for their inclusion in the revised form of the sketch. According to Mr. De Voto's book, Captain Stewart was always pictured on a white horse in the Miller sketches and he is so pictured in five of the plates of the book. He is always shown dressed in fringed buckskins with a stiff narrow-brimmed black hat and so appears in five plates in the book. So the foremost of the two riders, dressed in fringed buckskins, wearing a black hat and riding a white horse, must be Captain Stewart. His head man and chief hunter, Antoine Clement, appears four times in the book with a prominent Roman nose, black hair to his shoulders and dressed in fringed buckskins and once with the identical soft white hat with low crown and narrow brim shown in our sketch, so there can be little doubt that Antoine is the other horseman watching the hunt from the knoll. When we remember that Miller was working at the castle with both the Baronet and Antoine watching and criticizing his work, it seems obvious that the artist or one of his companions suggested

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that they be included in the picture in its final form. We therefore have in our wash drawing one of the most spirited, interesting and typical of Miller's pictures of life in the Far West and also sketches of the Baronet and his chief hunter added for good measure. Surely this is one of the earliest and one of the most charming and historically valuable pictures of life in the Far West before its romance had been destroyed by the threatening wave of white civilization.

Reference: *Across the Wide Missouri*. By Bernard De Voto. Illustrated with paintings by Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Bodmer and George Catlin. With an account of the discovery of the Miller Collection by Mae Reed Porter. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xxvii, 483 p., 81 plates (19 in color), end-paper maps, 8vo. [See review herein.]

NEW HAMPSHIRE TORY COUNTERFEITERS OPERATING FROM NEW YORK CITY

by KENNETH SCOTT*

IN THE American Colonies there had been counterfeiting¹ motivated by desire for profit, but with the Revolution a new situation arose in which many highly respectable citizens who were loyal to the King undertook to alter genuine notes, to counterfeit them, and to pass spurious currency secured in New York City, where the English authorities aided, sponsored, and patronized Colonial counterfeiters and permitted them to advertise their false money in wholesale quantities.^{1a} Little beyond this statement has been published on the subject.

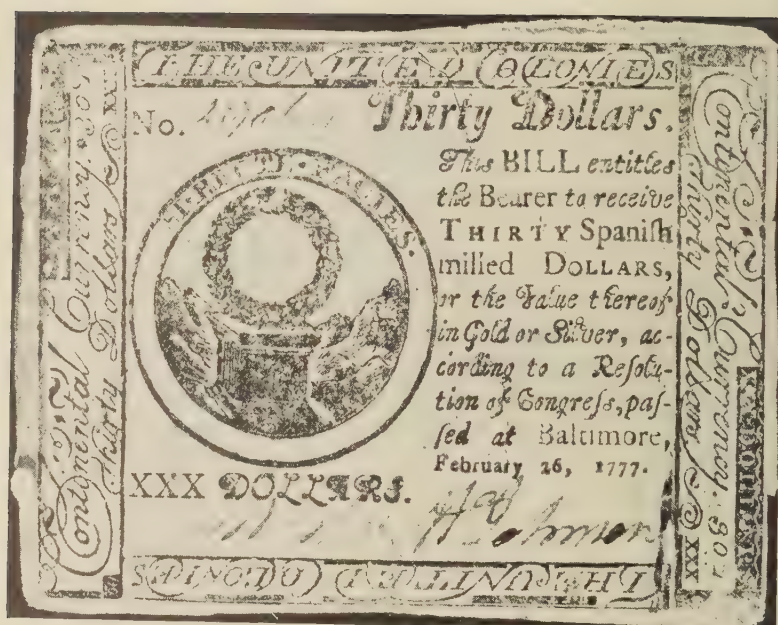
The *Hartford Courant* of November 23, 1779, printed a despatch from Charlestown, Mass., to the effect that three notorious counterfeiters, Ben Cock, John Stien, and W. Strother, had been brought to town under strong guard, with their press, some printing types, and other implements. The prisoners were described as "part of a chain of near 500, dispersed from one end of this continent to the other, supposed by the British Government, or its Generals in America."²

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¹ In New Hampshire, for example, see Court Records File No. 27267 in the New Hampshire Historical Society in Concord, N. H. The author wishes to express his gratitude to Elmer Munson Hunt, Esq., Director of the New Hampshire Historical Society, for permission to use unpublished documents in the Society.

^{1a} Lawrence Dwight Smith, *Counterfeiting* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1944), 67. Elroy McKendree Avery, *A History of the United States and Its People* (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1909), VI: 327; Sydney George Fisher, *The Struggle for American Independence* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1908), II: 236.

² See J. Eugene Smith, *One Hundred Years of Hartford's Courant from Colonial Times through the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1949), who states (pp. 45-6) that "the counterfeiter's trade thrived heartily . . . especially after 1776. Descriptions of counterfeit dollar bills, French guineas, and Continental notes, made from the New York, New London, and Boston prints, were placed in the paper to put Connecticut merchants on guard. There were accounts of culprits apprehended and jailed in many Connecticut Towns, but the supply of them must have seemed inexhaustible."



THIRTY DOLLAR CONTINENTAL BILL OF 1777
Collection of The American Numismatic Society

It is known that spurious Continental notes were even printed in Britain, for a shipload of counterfeits en route to America was captured by a privateer.^{2a} Enormous sums were put into circulation, an operation which beyond question contributed to the depreciation of the Continental money to such a degree that George Washington wrote to John Jay that "a wagon-load of money will scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions."^{2b} So worthless, indeed, did American currency become that in May, 1781, an angry mob in Philadelphia paraded the streets with paper money in their hats as cockades and with a dog tarred and plastered with the Congress' paper dollars.^{2c} British faith in the

^{2a} Henry Phillips, *Continental Paper Currency* (Roxbury, Mass.: W. Elliot Woodward, 1866), 71.

^{2b} Elroy McKendree Avery, *loc. cit.*

^{2c} See Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 323-324.



BACK OF BILL REPRODUCED ON OPPOSITE PAGE

[This was counterfeited in New York by the British]

success of their counterfeiting activities in undermining the finances of the Revolution very likely inspired their later adoption of similar measures against the French *assignats* and *mandats*. It is surprising that a subject of such potential importance to historiographers of the Revolution has not been previously investigated.

All available evidence points to New York City as the chief source of supply for Tory passers. In December, 1779, George Washington wrote that he had received a letter dated November 7 from a "confidential correspondent in New York" and that the most important part of the first mentioned letter relates to the indefatigable endeavors of the enemy to increase the depreciation of our currency by increasing its quantity of Counterfeits. It asserts, as a matter of certainty, that Reams of the paper made for the last emissions struck by Congress have been procured from

Philadelphia. The writer had taken much but fruitless pains to detect the [persons] concerned.”²⁰

One of Washington’s spies on Long Island, Samuel Culper, also indicated that Long Island or New York City was a place where Tories secured counterfeits. In one report in September 1780, he wrote that he had spoken with a man from Middletown, Connecticut, who stated that he had left about £20,000 in counterfeit notes of late emissions “in the hands of Toreys—to pay their taxes with.” Again Culper reported that “585 keeps up a constant communication with your courts, and carries large sums of counterfeit paper currency of every emission and put it into the hands of Torys for to pay their taxes with.”²¹

Money seized in Pennsylvania also originated in New York City, as was revealed when one Thomas Cockayne was arrested in August, 1777, and there was found on his person one hundred and ninety-nine \$30 counterfeit bills which had been sent “from New York City” with a definite plan to circulate them.²²

The following study, concerned with operations by which Tories of New Hampshire secured counterfeit notes in New York and circulated them in their own State, would appear to be the only extensive investigation made of the subject. It may be reasonably assumed that Loyalists from other States followed the procedure of their friends in New Hampshire and that New York City provided forged bills for all the New England States and others not too distant.

The State of New Hampshire was early plagued by what ap-

²⁰ Worthington Chauncey Ford, *The Writings of George Washington* (N. Y.: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1890), VIII: 129.

²¹ Morton Pennypacker, *General Washington’s Spies on Long Island and in New York* (Brooklyn, N. Y.: Long Island Historical Society, 1939), 95 and 266. It may be noted that in May, 1776, counterfeiters were arrested on Long Island and in June of the same year three Continental soldiers were apprehended in New York City for passing false bills. William Graham Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (N. Y.: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1891), 68–69.

²² *Pennsylvania Archives*, V (1853): 525; cf. 239, 240, 248. Persons not from New York, to be sure, but from British-occupied Philadelphia with a flag of truce were taken up and jailed in Lancaster for attempting to put spurious notes into circulation (see Henry Phillips, Jr., *op. cit.*, 146, where this event is related by Tom Paine in a letter to Henry Laurens).

pears to have been a well-organized and successful band of Tories who managed to put into circulation a considerable amount of bad money in an attempt to weaken the patriot cause. The authorities in New Hampshire scarcely needed the recommendation which was sent them by the Continental Congress on January 1, 1779, urging them "to adopt such measures as may be effectual for detecting persons employed in making counterfeit bills or passing the same knowing them to be such,"³ for by the summer or fall of 1776 the State was alert to the danger threatening its paper currency. Three cases at least were before the courts and two prominent individuals were involved, William Stark and Thomas Cumings. The other person was one James Ryan, who at the September term of the Superior Court of Rockingham County was found guilty of passing counterfeits and sentenced to be whipped twenty stripes and pay a fine of £10.⁴ It is probable that he soon thereafter went over to the British in New York, for it is likely that the "Mrs. Ryen" whom the New Hampshire Committee of Safety on October 23, 1778, permitted "to go on board the Flagg to proceed to N. York to her husband" was his wife.⁵

William Stark of Dunbarton, a former captain in Roger's Rangers and the brother of Colonel, later General, John Stark, was considered by the State Legislature at the beginning of the Revolution for the colonelcy of a New Hampshire regiment but Timothy Bedel was finally chosen. Stark was bitterly incensed by his rejection and not long after was charged with altering a Massachusetts bill of credit from sixteen shillings to forty and passing the same to Job Dow of Goffstown. He was indicted for this offence and bound over to appear at the September term of the Superior Court of Hillsborough County,⁶ but jumped bail

³ Weare Papers (in the New Hampshire Historical Society, in Concord, N. H.), VII: 76.

⁴ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII (1890): 707.

⁵ Committee of Safety Records in *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII (Concord: G. Parker Lyon, 1863): 169-170.

⁶ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII (1890): 707-708. John Stinson, his brother-in-law, was his surety.

and fled to the British in New York, who rewarded him with a colonel's commission. He was killed in 1782 by a fall from his horse.⁷

Another prominent citizen of the State, Thomas Cumings, a lawyer of Hollis, had been indicted in June, 1776, and was to appear before the Superior Court of Hillsborough County.⁸ But, like Cumings, he was released on bail and fled to the British. He left his wife Hannah behind in Hollis. In New York he joined Governor Wentworth's Volunteers, with whom he served until 1782, when he went to Nova Scotia. He died in London, England, in May, 1786.⁹

There were subsequently two periods when the dealings of the New Hampshire Tories in counterfeit money were partially uncovered and these give some idea of their operations, though there are other cases recorded during the Revolution which perhaps are isolated and yield little information.¹⁰ The two periods in question were the spring of 1777 and the winter of 1778-1779. Colonel Stephen Holland was the chief protagonist of the first. Since he was probably the principal organizer and director of Loyalist counterfeiting and passing in New Hampshire, something must be said of his previous career.

Holland served as Lieutenant and Adjutant in Goreham's Rangers during the Seven Years War and in 1762 sold out his commission and settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire. His wife was Jane Stinson of Dunbarton, and her sister Mary was the

⁷ Caleb Stark, *History of the Town of Dunbarton* (Concord: G. Parker Lyon, 1860), 175-176; and Howard Parker Moore, *A Life of General John Stark* (Boston: Spaulding-Moss Co., 1949), 219-220.

⁸ Samuel T. Worcester, *A History of Hollis* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1879), 167-168; and *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII: 707-708.

⁹ Manuscript copy, made in 1904 and now in the New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N. H., of the records of New Hampshire Loyalists among the Books and Papers of the Commissioners, Audit Office Records, Loyalist Series in the Public Record Office of England, I: 362, 377, 380. This manuscript will henceforth be referred to as "Br. Com. Records."

¹⁰ Such apparently are the convictions in New Hampshire for passing counterfeits of John Hitchcock and George Wood in 1778 and David Carr and John Noyce Matther in 1780. See *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII: 707-709.

wife of the Tory, William Stark.¹¹ In the years immediately preceding the Revolution, Holland attained a position of considerable wealth and influence in the Province. He served as Justice of the Peace, Colonel in the militia, Representative in the General Court, Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas and Clerk of the Peace for Hillsborough County. When hostilities began, he feared to remain in the State but did so at the request of the Royal Governor, John Wentworth, who urged him to stay on and "use every Art and Address to circumvent and disappoint" the views of the patriots.¹²

After the British occupied New York City, Holland repeatedly offered to the British Colonel Archibald Campbell, confined as a prisoner in Reading, Massachusetts, the services of a trusty person to convey letters or intelligence for him to New York,¹³ and there can be no doubt that Holland was in communication with the King's forces in that city. Governor Wentworth, for example, in Flatbush, Long Island, on February 3, 1777, wrote him giving him messages to Loyalists in New Hampshire and now urging Holland to join him.¹⁴ Indeed, it is probable that the Royal Governor felt that Holland's work had been accomplished, as well as that the risk for Holland had become very great. The hatred felt for this Londonderry Colonel by patriots and the esteem in which the British held him would point to him as the probable organizer of the band of New Hampshire Tories who for a long period conveyed messages to and from New York and put large amounts of counterfeit money into circulation. John Langdon, later Governor of New Hampshire, said of Holland in 1778: "Damn him . . . I hope to see him hanged. He has done more damage than ten thousand men could have done."

¹¹ Howard Parker Moore, *loc. cit.*; Br. Com. Reports, II: 942.

¹² Br. Com. Reports, II: 965-966; Kenneth Scott, "Colonel Stephen Holland of Londonderry," *Historical New Hampshire*, March 1947, 15 ff.

¹³ Br. Com. Reports, II: 778.

¹⁴ A copy of the letter is in the possession of the Province of Nova Scotia. A transcript thereof is on pages 181-183 of transcripts, in the N. H. Historical Society, Concord, N. H., of Wentworth letters.

General Archibald Campbell, with regard to Stephen Holland's services to the King, wrote: "His influence in the Country, both with respect to fortune and abilities, rendered him not less respected by the friends of Government than dangerous in a high degree to the leaders of Sedition."¹⁵

Holland's associates were availing themselves of the opportunity to secure practically *gratis* spurious notes from New York City, where the *New York Gazette: and Weekly Mercury* of April 14, 1777, displayed the following advertisement:

Persons going into the other Colonies may be supplied with any Number of counterfeit Congress-Notes, for the Price of the Paper per Ream. They are so neatly and exactly executed that there is no Risque in getting them off, it being almost impossible to discover, that they are not genuine. This has been proved by Bills to a very large Amount, which have already been successfully circulated.

Enquire for Q.E.D. at the Coffee-House, from 11 P.M. to 4 A.M. during the present Month.¹⁶

Such bold advertising must have awakened the vigilance of the patriots. The interception by them of certain inculpatory letters and the forwarding of the same to New Hampshire put the Revolutionary authorities there on the trail of some of the Tories concerned in passing counterfeits and communicating with the enemy in New York City. Governor Trumbull of Connecticut on March 3, 1777, wrote to the New Hampshire Committee of Safety, informing them that a certain John Moor of Peterborough, N. H., and his brother had appeared in Wallingford, Connecticut, about the middle of June, 1776. They had permits to take flax out of Connecticut to their home town and were ostensibly engaged in such business. John Moor, after an absence of some time, returned to Wallingford sick with the smallpox, of which he subsequently died.

"At the House where he returned in Wallingford," continued the Governor, "a Boy at the Barn looking Hen's Eggs, putting

¹⁵ See K. Scott, "Colonel Stephen Holland of Londonderry," *Historical New Hampshire*, March 1947, 27.

¹⁶ As Lawrence Dwight Smith, *op. cit.*, 67, has pointed out, this newspaper printed official proclamations and documents of the occupying authorities.

his Hand into a likely Place near the Manger, where the Man put out his Horse, he felt a flat Stone, which he removed, and under it found the Bundle of Letters, which I have inclosed for your Observation and Use. . . .”¹⁷

One of the letters was from Governor Wentworth to his sister, Ann Fisher, in Portsmouth. Another was directed to Colonel Stephen Ash in Nutfield and signed “Wm Stronge”; a third, addressed to Stephen Ash was initialed “J. C.” The Committee of Safety suspected that Ash was really Holland, especially since Nutfield was an earlier name for Londonderry; that Wm Stronge was the Tory William Stark; and that “J. C.” stood for John Cochran, who before the Revolution had commanded Fort William and Mary and at the beginning of the war had enlisted under General Gage in Boston.¹⁸

Upon receipt of Governor Trumbull’s message the Committee of Safety on March 11, 1777, directed Colonel Enoch Poor to arrest Robert Moor, brother of the deceased John Moor, and Colonel Holland and to bring both before the Committee. The prisoners were questioned on the afternoon and evening of March 14th and on the next day Moor was required to give sureties for his good conduct but Holland was discharged “with Honor.”¹⁹

The Committee, however, was still suspicious and employed one George Peirce to endeavor to detect counterfeiters.²⁰ By April 15th the Committee had sufficient evidence to act and that day and the two following were spent in considering the matter, in issuing warrants for the apprehension of persons suspected of counterfeiting and passing, and in employing persons to serve the warrants. In addition, John Dudley and Nathaniel Peabody were appointed to attend the Superior Court then in session at Concord, Massachusetts. If they found there any persons belong-

¹⁷ *The Freeman’s Journal, Or New Hampshire Gazette*, Saturday, March 29, 1777.

¹⁸ Br. Com. Reports, I: 319-351.

¹⁹ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, VIII (1874): 507-508; and the *Freeman’s Journal* of March 29, 1777.

²⁰ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII (1863): 89.

ing to New Hampshire who were suspected of being concerned in counterfeiting and passing, warrants were to be sought to bring the suspects to the New Hampshire line and there have them properly secured.²¹

On April 23, 1777, the following letter, which reveals the next developments, was sent by the New Hampshire Committee to Brigadier-General Prescott of Massachusetts:

The Committee of this State have been engaged for ten days past in Endeavoring to detect and Confine persons concerned in counterfeiting the Bills of Credit of this & the neighboring States. Five Persons are now confined in Prison, & one who was committed hath been admitted to Bail & has given considerable Light into the affair; in short, it appears by what Discoveries we have made that vast quantities have been struck off & passed. I believe sufficient Evidence to convict one Daniel Farnsworth of Northfield in your State is with us, whom I hope you have secured. Evidence of the like kind we have against Benjamin Whiting of Holles in our State, who we have not yet been able to apprehend; hope you will keep a vigilant lookout for him. A certain Maj^r Richardson apprehended & confined here, says he had of one Joshua Smith of Townsend in your State £400 in £3 Bills made in Imitation of true ones Emitted by this State, £200 of which was found in his possession, the other £200 he acknowledges to have passed, but says he took it for good money. Officers are now gone out to apprehend Col^o Stephen Holland of Londonderry and Dr. Silas Hedges of Dunbarton, both of this State, against whom we have sufficient Evidence; they may escape into your State in order to flee to the Enemy; hope you will have a look out for them. We are determined to use our utmost endeavors to apprehend & bring to condign punishment these Infernal monsters—these worse than highway robbers,—and have no doubt but your State will equally exert themselves in this very important matter. A communication of Discoveries from you to us, from time to time, may be very serviceable in unravelling their secrets, and laying open the Plot.²²

Stephen Holland was imprisoned in the Exeter jail, from which he promptly escaped on the evening of May 2d.²³ *The Freeman's Journal or New Hampshire Gazette* on May 31st published an article on the subject of Tories who, it stated, had

²¹ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 89.

²² *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, VIII: 546.

²³ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 93; and *The Freeman's Journal or New Hampshire Gazette*, May 24, 1777.

counterfeited the currency and communicated a pestilential disorder in the land. The author was most critical of the authorities in connection with Holland's escape and concluded:

At this Period the Crime of counterfeiting money is vastly greater than it ever was in common, in that the Salvation of America depends much upon its existance in a State of Purity, therefore the greatest Pains ought to be taken, and no Laws can be made too severe, to reclaim Men capable of Committing so great an Evil!

Holland was recaptured on June 5, 1777, in Boston²⁴ and removed to Exeter, where he was again confined in the same prison from which he had before escaped. Thereupon, the British in New York City seized Woodbury Langdon and held him as a hostage for Holland, but the State of New Hampshire refused to release him.²⁵ At the September 1778 term of the Superior Court of Rockingham County he was found guilty of passing counterfeits, fined £2,000 and costs, and sentenced to serve three months in jail.²⁶

The conviction was probably based specifically on evidence that Holland had passed two counterfeit notes, one of New Hampshire currency and the other of a southern State, to Samuel Allison, Jr.²⁷ It would seem that Holland had likewise had a hand at striking false notes, for a certain Sam Tufts in a letter dated Newbury Port, August 9, 1781, to Thomas Odiorne wrote that John Stinson, a Tory absentee who had formerly resided at Derry and later at Dunbarton,²⁸ confessed to one of the crew of the schooner *Industry* that he had been concerned with Holland in making the counterfeit money.²⁹

²⁴ Otis G. Hammond, *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan* (Concord, N. H.: N. H. Historical Society, 1930), I: 374.

²⁵ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 117; and *N. H. State Papers*, VIII: 677.

²⁶ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII: 708.

²⁷ *Weare Papers*, IV: 65. The "Holland" mentioned may have been John Holland but it is more likely that he was Stephen.

²⁸ Stinson was Holland's brother-in-law. He fled to New York in 1776 but was later apprehended by the patriots and imprisoned, first in Boston and then in Rutland. In the year 1784 he was in jail in New Hampshire, facing trial for having, as a proscribed Tory, returned to that State. See Br. Com. Reports, IV: 1752-78.

²⁹ *Weare Papers*, X: 31. As only the name "Holland" is given, it may be that reference was made to John Holland, but again, it is more likely Stephen.

On February 28, 1778, Holland was tried before the Superior Court in Exeter, this time on a charge of high treason, was found guilty and would have suffered death, had he not the very evening of his conviction effected his escape and joined the British in Rhode Island.³⁰ He received a captain's commission in the Prince of Wales' American Volunteers, served as Town Major in Newport, and later played a very important rôle in the British Intelligence Service.³¹

Benjamin Whiting of Hollis, Deputy Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods in America and Sheriff of Hillsborough County, fled in May 1777 to the British army in Rhode Island, thus escaping arrest. He left behind his wife, Grace, and four children in Hollis. He was commissioned as Lieutenant in Governor Wentworth's Volunteers and died on Long Island in November 1779.³²

Major James Richardson of Dover fell into the hands of the authorities before the end of April.³³ Two of the witnesses who appeared against him were Captain and Mrs. Hubertus Neal. Richardson claimed to have received counterfeit notes from Joshua Smith but not to have known that they were false.³⁴ The Superior Court of the County of Cheshire, however, at its May 1777 session found him guilty of passing, fined him £350 and costs, and sentenced him to serve four months in jail.³⁵ As late as January 7, 1778, he was confined in the Dover Gaol,³⁶ but from the confession of David Farnsworth³⁷—to be discussed later—it appears that Richardson was released from prison before the fall of that year and furthermore that he was anything but innocent in his receiving counterfeits from Joshua Smith.

³⁰ Br. Com. Reports, II: 778 and 950; *The Exeter Journal or New Hampshire Gazette*, March 3, 1778.

³¹ Br. Com. Reports, II: 969-970, 952; and Kenneth Scott, "Major General Sullivan and Colonel Stephen Holland," *New England Quarterly*, XVIII (1945): 303-324.

³² Samuel T. Worcester, *A History of the Town of Hollis* (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1879), 167-168; and Br. Com. Reports, V: 2536, 2539-40.

³³ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 92.

³⁴ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, VIII: 546.

³⁵ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII: 709.

³⁶ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 200 and 132.

³⁷ *Weare Papers*, V: 118.

Charles Cowell of Peterborough, who was apparently arrested at about this time on the charge of being concerned in counterfeiting, was admitted as a witness on May 13, 1777, but there is no further knowledge of his connection with the affair.³⁸ Much more is known, however, of another person who was arrested and turned State's evidence, Dr. Silas Hedges of Dunbarton. Hedges himself escaped punishment by accusing an outspoken Tory, Dr. Jonathan Gove of New Boston, of passing counterfeit notes.³⁹

At Gove's trial before the Superior Court of Hillsborough County the jury found that on October 1, 1775, he had passed a forged \$30 Continental bill and a \$3 Continental bill, altered to \$30, to one James Ramsey; that on September 30, 1776, he passed ten counterfeit bills of 30 shillings; on October 15, 1776, five false bills of 30 shillings; on December 1, 1776, twenty counterfeit notes in the denomination of 40 shillings; on December 31, 1776, twenty counterfeits of 30 shillings; on January 1, 1777, twenty false notes of 60 shillings; and, finally, that on January 1, 1777, he had in his possession ten counterfeit bills of 40 shillings and ten of 60 shillings.⁴⁰ He was fined £750 and sentenced to serve six months in jail.⁴¹

Hedges swore that he had seen Gove pass counterfeits to John McLaughlin of New Boston, and that McLaughlin was a friend to the British Government.⁴² In 1786, when Dr. Gove requested a re-examination of his case, it was established that, in the opinion of many present at the trial, Gove would not have been convicted without the testimony of Dr. Hedges,⁴³ who was himself a Tory and in time apparently came to be considered "a most notorious

³⁸ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 96.

³⁹ Gove was born at Lincoln, Mass., in 1746, was graduated from Harvard in 1768, and settled in New Boston, N. H. See Lemuel Shattuck, *A History of the Town of Concord* (Boston: Russell, Odiorne and Co., 1835), 314; and George Plummer Hadley, *A History of Goffstown* (Concord, N. H.: The Rumford Press, 1924), 178.

⁴⁰ Miscellaneous State Papers (deposited by the N. H. Secretary of State in the N. H. Historical Society, Concord, N. H.), Vol. 42: 106-107.

⁴¹ Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. 42: 104.

⁴² Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. 42: 106.

⁴³ Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. 42: 108-112.

Villain." Depositions were made to the effect that Hedges had damned the Bible, called the patriot authorities a "Set of Damn'd Rascals," and said he would swear to anything to keep out of trouble.⁴¹ Hedges, himself, when arrested, it would seem, had a large quantity of counterfeit money in his pocket.⁴²

Others arrested at the same time as Dr. Gove were John Holland, Leonard Whiting, Joshua Atherton, and John McLaughlin.⁴³ John Holland was imprisoned for some time in Exeter and later in the Strafford Gaol.⁴⁷ At the September 1777 term of the Superior Court of Hillsborough County he was indicted for counterfeiting and freed on bond but made default.⁴⁸ It may, therefore, be reasonably assumed that he fled to the British and was the same John Holland who in 1792 was sheriff of the County of St. John, New Brunswick, and who died in that province in 1806.⁴⁹

Captain Leonard Whiting of Hollis, the brother of Benjamin Whiting, according to one account, had been arrested, apparently while the British were still in Boston. He was passing through Groton, Massachusetts, when a group of women, led by Mrs. Prudence Wright (née Cumings, a sister of Samuel and Thomas Cumings, Tories of Hollis), seized him and found in his boots despatches from the British in Canada to the British in Boston.⁵⁰ It is apparently not recorded how, if this story is correct, he escaped serious consequences. In any event, Whiting was in prison in Amherst before July 10, 1777, charged with counterfeiting and passing, and on July 10, 1777, was ordered released on bail.⁵¹ There seems to be no record of his conviction and he continued to live in Hollis.⁵²

⁴⁴ Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. 42: 108-110; cf. p. 104.

⁴⁵ Miscellaneous State Papers, Vol. 42: 102.

⁴⁶ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 218; cf. pp. 132, 155, and 157.

⁴⁷ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 121 and 132.

⁴⁸ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XVIII: 708.

⁴⁹ Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1864), I: 537-538.

⁵⁰ Sabine, *op. cit.*, II: 422.

⁵¹ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 104, 155, 157, 218.

⁵² Samuel T. Worcester, *op. cit.*, 168. Possibly he was not punished for want of valid evidence.

Joshua Atherton, who had settled in Amherst in 1773, was held closely confined in jail at Exeter until August 18, 1777, when because of poor health he was permitted the liberty of the yard of the prison. On September 10th he was released but ordered to take private lodging in a "thick Settled part" of Exeter and a month later was ordered to confine himself to within ten rods of his lodgings. It was not until June 5, 1778, that he was liberated on bail to appear before the Superior Court on September 21st.⁵³ In that year he took the oath of allegiance to the State and apparently was not convicted. He was a member of the convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, was a member of the Senate in 1792, several times a representative to the General Court, and Attorney General.⁵⁴

The arrest of John McLaughlin of New Boston, who has already been mentioned, was ordered on May 4, 1778, and he was imprisoned at Amherst until April 9, 1779, when he was released on bail to appear at the next session of the Superior Court.⁵⁵ It appears that he had previously been arrested in Massachusetts in July 1777 on the evidence of Dr. Silas Hedges, who swore that McLaughlin, in December 1776, had counterfeit notes from Dr. Gove and that in April 1777 McLaughlin passed New Hampshire counterfeit currency in Boston, money which McLaughlin had obtained from Dr. Joseph Adams of Lincoln, who signed them. Hedges also maintained that McLaughlin was a Tory and associated with others to counteract the proceedings of the colonies.⁵⁶ There seems to be no record of what became of McLaughlin but it is significant that he allegedly obtained some of his counterfeits from Massachusetts and that they were signed and presumably manufactured there.

The discovery of further operations of the counterfeiters came in the fall and winter of 1778-1779 through the capture of David Farnsworth and John Blair and through the evidence ob-

⁵³ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 112, 116, 121, 155.

⁵⁴ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XI (1882): 105.

⁵⁵ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 149 and 183.

⁵⁶ *Miscellaneous State Papers*, Vol. 42: 106.

tained from members of the Baxter family of Alstead. On the evening of October 7, 1778, David Farnsworth of Hollis and John Blair of Holderness, New Hampshire, were arrested at Danbury, Connecticut, and brought to the headquarters of General Enoch Poor. Both men were charged with being spies from New York and were turned over to a court martial on the following day. Both men proved "obstinate" and whatever they revealed was "with the greatest reluctance." General Poor wrote this information on October 9th and forwarded his letter, with an extract from their examination, to Weare, the President of the Council of New Hampshire, by Jonathan Cilley as messenger. Poor's letter concluded with these lines:

They Brott with them from NYork 10:007 Dollars in Counterfeit Money. They Conceald it about ten Miles from hence: by their Information have all the Reason to think there may be Large Sums Circulating with you—therefore send you Inclosed a Bill of the Different Denominations—Should any Farther Discovery of Any Consequence be made Previous to their Execution (which I trust will take place) you may be Assured it shall be forwarded you without loss of Time.⁶⁷

At his examination John Blair stated that "Coll Holland told him (while at N York) that he wanted to get Cap' Jeremiah Clough of Canterbury: Cap' Melony and Bill Vance of Derry to Come to New York—That Moses Gerrish of Lancaster . . . had passed 40: or 50:000 Dollars of Bad Money to a French Gent. for Goods—That Squire Clough of Canterbury told him (the said Blair) that he knew it to be a Fact—"

The extract from Farnsworth's confession runs as follows:

Farnsworth says he left Hollase town about six weeks ago at the instigation of Oliver Parker of Stodard and Richard Peck of Marlowe for the Purpose of going to New York to get Counterfeit Money: That Parker & Peck persuaded him some time before he would Comply: Peck told him to go to One Beckett at Sims in Connecticut near New London who would Set him over the Sound to Long Island—That when he Came to this Beckett: Beckett told him that he need not go to York for Money, as there was a Press Erecting in Lancaster (Massachusetts State)

⁶⁷ Weare Papers, V: 119.

for the Purpose of making Money. & that if he (Farnsworth) would Come in as an Accomplice he would tell him the whole Secret, but Farnsworth Refused—Beckett told him that they had Already got Some Money from NYork which Passed very well and their stamps was to be of the Same—But he Farnsworth Refused to Come in with them and Beckett Set him over the Sound—that the Money which he Brott from New York he was to give to Samuel Abbott in Hollase who was to give one half to the Cummings Wifes and the other half Abbot was to keep himself—the Cummings in New York gave him the Money to bring Out —That Peck said to him (Farnsworth) that if he Farnsworth got any Money that he Peck would go over himself and get some more—That Peck had bin down to Sims once with an Intention to go over some time ago but did not go Over—That Peck said there had been a number of men from N Hampshire to York and had brought Money: That Parker said he had Passed Some of it and it Answered well—That Cummings had Sent out 2000 Dollars some time before by one Stevens of N h: That Turbell [Samuel Tarbell?] in New York Said he had: had some Conversation with Abbot about the Money previous to his Turbels Leaving N Hampshire—That a Man Supposed to be Dennis Haley was just Returned to N York when he Farnsworth left it from Carrying Money to New Hampshire and that he Expected the Same Man out again in about a Fortnight and that this Man would be at Turbels in Groton at Bill Starks Wifes Hollands Wifes Whiteings and Cummings wifes when he Come out again—

N B Moses Gerrish is the Same Person who formerly kept School in the Upper Part of New Hampshire and the French Gent he purchased the Goods of at that time Resided in Boston—Farnsworth Further saith that One Smith lately (?) a March^t in Townsend, Now a Refugee on Long Island told him he might Confide and Say any thing to Major Richardson of Dover as he was a great Freind to Government and if Richardson would Either Come or Send to New York he might have as much Paper Money as he wanted: but Desired he would bring a Little Silver Money with him—⁵⁸

Both Blair and Farnsworth were executed at Hartford, Farnsworth on November 10th and Blair probably at the same time.⁵⁹ Their statements, especially that of Farnsworth, led to the arrest of some whom they implicated. Samuel Abbott of Hollis and Oliver Parker of Stoddard were taken into custody on November 2, 1778, on suspicion of passing counterfeit money,⁶⁰ and

⁵⁸ Weare Papers, V: 118.

⁵⁹ Lorenzo Sabine, *op. cit.*, I: 282 and 162.

⁶⁰ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 170.

Richard Peck of Marlow was imprisoned at Exeter on suspicion of receiving and passing.⁶¹

Abbott was born on April 15, 1753, the son of Benjamin and Elizabeth Abbott.⁶² According to Farnsworth's statement, Abbott and Tarbell had discussed the passing of counterfeit money before Tarbell went to New York and Abbott was to distribute whatever false notes Farnsworth might bring from New York to the wives of Benjamin and Leonard Cumings.

Captain Samuel Tarbell came from Groton, Massachusetts, and settled in Mason, New Hampshire, in 1749, where he served as moderator of proprietary meetings on November 26, 1759, and September 14, 1762.⁶³ He was arrested, perhaps in June 1777 or earlier, and imprisoned in Concord, Massachusetts. When on June 27, 1777, the New Hampshire Committee of Safety appointed Nicholas Gilman and Nathaniel Peabody to join General Prescott in examining "a person Confined in the Massachusetts Bay, and admit said person to be a State Evidence, as they see fit," the "person" in question was perhaps Samuel Tarbell, who apparently had gone from Mason to Groton, Massachusetts.⁶⁴ In any event, Tarbell was in jail in Concord, Massachusetts, on January 7, 1778, when the New Hampshire Committee of Safety expressed a desire to have him used as state's evidence in connection with counterfeiting.⁶⁵ By the summer of 1778 Tarbell must have been released or escaped, for he was in New York City, where William Baxter saw him in the company of a large group of New Hampshire Tories.⁶⁶ Before leaving New Hampshire Tarbell had discussed the question of counterfeit money with Samuel Abbott of Hollis, according to Farnsworth's testimony. Furthermore, Dennis Haley in New York expected to be at Tarbell's home in Groton, Massachusetts, and then go on to New Hampshire to

⁶¹ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 170.

⁶² Samuel T. Worcester, *History of the Town of Hollis, N. H.*, 363.

⁶³ John Boynton Hill, *History of the Town of Mason, N. H.* (Boston: Lucius A. Elliot & Co., 1858), 220 and 228.

⁶⁴ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 102.

⁶⁵ Weare Papers, IV: 57.

⁶⁶ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XI: 26.

visit the wives of the Tories: Stark, Holland, the Whitings, and the Cumings. Tarbell became a lieutenant in the King's American Dragoons,⁶⁷ but must have eventually returned to his native Groton, where he is said to have died "in poverty and wretchedness."⁶⁸

Although Tarbell was beyond the reach of the New Hampshire Committee of Safety at the time that the evidence secured from Blair and Farnsworth was received, the Committee moved to apprehend Oliver Parker of Stoddard and Richard Peck of Marlow. Parker, who had come from Groton, Massachusetts, to Stoddard in 1772 or 1773 and who in 1774 had been moderator, town clerk, and first selectman of the town,⁶⁹ was arrested on November 2, 1778, on suspicion of passing counterfeit money and was committed to prison.⁷⁰ Parker was presumably released on bond and absconded or, if sentenced, left Stoddard subsequently, for he eventually settled in the "British dominions, off New Brunswick."⁷¹

Richard Peck, also implicated by Farnsworth's confession, was imprisoned in Exeter on November 7, 1777, on suspicion of receiving and passing⁷² and was still in jail on December 11, 1779.⁷³

Possibly as an outgrowth of the arrests of November 1777, the Committee of Safety ordered the arrest of three citizens of Londonderry, New Hampshire: John Clark, John Moore, and William Cox, "suspected of knowing aiding and assisting to the consealing of privat mesengers and Sirculators of Counterfit moneys."⁷⁴ On January 7, 1779, the men were examined by the Committee of Safety, released on bond, and ordered to remain in Londonderry to answer at the next meeting of the Superior Court.⁷⁵ Much later, on March 23, 1780, the chairman of the

⁶⁷ Lorenzo Sabine, *op. cit.*, II: 638.

⁶⁸ John B. Hill, *op. cit.*, 220.

⁶⁹ Isaiah Gould, *History of Stoddard* (Marlboro, N. H.: W. L. Metcalf, 1897), 114.

⁷⁰ *Collections of N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 170, 210.

⁷¹ Isaiah Gould, *loc. cit.*

⁷² *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 170.

⁷³ N. H. State Papers (Documents Series of 1901), 1778-1779, Vol. 31: 12.

⁷⁴ Weare Papers, VI: 15.

⁷⁵ *Collections of the N. H. Historical Society*, VII: 174.

Londonderry Committee of Safety wrote the State Committee in Exeter, reminding them that the Londonderry authorities had in 1778 notified them that John Clark had passed three counterfeit five-dollar bills. The letter continued:

And in the year 1779, the said Committee gave your Honors Intelligence by other Depositions Respecting said Clarks Conduct with Dinnes Haley a Notorious Enemy to the Cause of America. . . . The said Committee can now produce proof that the said John Clark Told some of his acquaintances that when Two Emissions of Continentall Bills was Call'd out of Circulation that he Burnt all the Counterfiet Bills That he had by him of these Dates for he was afraid To offer them and further Inform'd that there was a new Emission Comming out which was so artfully Counterfeited that it Could not be known and also Told said acquaintance that he might have some of it when it came. . . .⁷⁶

Dennis Haley, it would seem, was an active carrier of false money from New York to the homes of New Hampshire Tories or to their wives. One Matthew Dickey reported that John Moore of Londonderry informed him that "Dinnes Oheley has Near the Bignes of A Bible of Counterfiet Money and that Oheley would give Any of his Comrads a Thirty Dolar Bill for a Gill of Rum."⁷⁷ It does not appear that the authorities ever succeeded in apprehending Haley (or Oheley), who fled to the British dominions.⁷⁸

It is probable that some of the men apprehended as a result of the disclosures of Farnsworth were not only passing counterfeit bills brought from New York City but also making them. Noah Worcester of Hollis in 1780 presented a bill and also an account of the sale of confiscated counterfeiters' tools. He mentioned his examining a Mr. Farnsworth and exerting himself in order to "Detect and Bring to Light the Said Vile and Destructive Practice and gitting Position [*sic!*] of a Whole Set of money tools."⁷⁹

The final episode in the story of Tory counterfeiting and passing in New Hampshire is chiefly concerned with Simon Baxter

⁷⁶ Weare Papers, VII: 132.

⁷⁷ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XII (1883): 476.

⁷⁸ Lorenzo Sabine, *op. cit.*, II: 562.

⁷⁹ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XII: 242.

and his sons, William, Benjamin, and Simon, Jr. The elder Simon lived at Alstead near the Connecticut River and was a violent Loyalist. In 1774 he raised men to protect the courts and hence became obnoxious to patriots, who brought him before committees of safety thirteen times. At length he was imprisoned at Charlestown No. 4, New Hampshire, but escaped and reached Burgoyne's forces in July 1777, at Skeensborough. Before his flight he had induced some two hundred friends to promise to join the British general and about ninety actually did so. Baxter served as a lieutenant in the Provincials and was taken prisoner at the British surrender at Saratoga in October 1777. All other Americans in Burgoyne's army took the oath of allegiance to the United States and went home, but Baxter accompanied the British prisoners as Superintendent of Hospital Stores to Boston.⁸⁰ Toward the end of March 1778, William Baxter went to visit his father at Charlestown, Massachusetts. What transpired thereafter is related in the confession of the youthful William Baxter, who was arrested by the New Hampshire authorities about November 11, 1778, and signed his confession on January 8, 1779. Its text follows:

I left home 28th of March 1778 & went to Cambridge there I found my father and he was to be exchanged and said I must go with him I told him I Did not Love to Leave my mother he said I had better go with him & I finally concluded to go with him to Rhode Island which I Did when I got to Rhode Island I worked with one . . . seaven or Eight Days my father Did not Do any Business that I know of then he and I went to N York and had the Small pox together and was in N. York about A month then he told me I must go to Long Island and look out for myself and Dr. Pomroy [*Doctor Josiah Pomeroy was an "absentee" from Keene*] would get me a place to live at and I went to Long Island with Dr. Pomroy and left my father at N York and I Lived with one Abraham Brinkroff^{80a} about a week and then my father come to me and told me

⁸⁰ Br. Com. Reports, I: 134-135; Marion Nicholl Rawson, *New Hampshire Borns a Town* (N. Y.: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942), 194-196.

^{80a} The person to whom reference is made is doubtless Abraham Brinkerhoff, who owned a farm of one hundred and fifteen acres about one mile from the town spot in Newtown. He was Colonel of the Second Regiment of Dutchess County Militia and a member of the Committee of Correspondence of Newtown. See Henry Onderdonk, Jr., *Documents and Letters Intended to Illustrate the Revolutionary Incidents of*

he Intended to Return to Cambridge for they Meaning the Regulars would not exchange him unless he would go into their servis & he said he would not Do that—he had Drawn Rations till then and because he would not go into the Regular Servis they stopt his Rations then he worked in the same house with me till we went on board the Carteal that lay at newtown and went to N York before we went from Newtown my father & Dr Pomroy went Somewhere and then my father Gave me five hundred £ N York Currency and told me he had it of Dr Pomroy for which he told me he gave Dr Pomroy a note for twenty Pounds in hard money and my father told me to put it where the people of the house could not find it and said when we got back to Cambridge we could live well I told him we should be found out he was very angry with me & said he brought me to be a help to him but instead of that I was nothing but a plague and said he wished I was at home again—then we went to York and while we were wating for the flag to come of I went to work to help Lode the Vesel and my father went Back to Dr. Pomroy at Newtown and when he came back he brought about A thousand Dollars More as near as I Can Remember and told me to hide it and said he was to have some more as soon as it was struck of and Signed—the Next Day he went of again and brought so much as with what he told me to hide the Day before Made up A thousand pounds that I saw but how much more I Dont Know then he had some hard money and with that bought Cloathing to send by me to his famely—while we lay at N York one evening Benjⁿ Whiting Sam^l Tarbull Will Stark Robt L. Fowle^{so}—Blair two Cummins Benjⁿ Trow my father and myself ware together at Jn^o Strouts in New York and I see Benjⁿ Whiting have one thousand Dollars in forty Dollar bills and offered my father if he would take the Money and put it of att Cambridge or anywhere in y^e Country he would give him five hundred Dollars of it which my father took but told me he Returned it Back then he said Benjamin Whiting Said if he could not get any Body to fetch it Meaning the money he would fetch it himself for all the D^d Rebels would be overcome before Next year was out—the next Day we Sailed for Boston and after we had got to Boston I told my father I would not go back he said he believed I had as good go home and told me to take the

Queens County, N. Y. (Hempstead, L. I.: Lott Van De Water, 1884), 27; Frederic Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Albany, N. Y.: J. B. Lyon Co., 1913), 1020; James Riker, Jr., *The Annals of Newtown* (N. Y.: D. Fanshaw, 1852), 176.

^{so} According to the testimony of Samuel Hale on February 18, 1785, Robert Lewis Fowle of Portsmouth feared to live in New Hampshire and believed that the indignation felt in America against him arose from the "Idea that he was concern'd in emitting forged Money." See Daniel Parker Coke, *The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists* (Oxford: The Roxburghe Club, 1915), 313. The "Idea" of the Americans doubtless came, in part at least, from the confession of William Baxter.

Cloathing with me and carry it home to Mother and he counted some money to me vis ten forty Dollar Bills & Seaventeen twenty D^o and about Ninety five Dollars in good Money and told me to be carefull I said I was afraid it would hurt me he said the money would do him no good and if I was like to be hurt by it I might burn it—and then I set of for Cambridge and went to Joseph Welches and he was going to Boston and said he wanted some paper money and Asked me if I had any that I could spare I told him yes and I gave him fifty six Dollars for a Joannes and he went to Boston and came and told me he had got a hors for me and a boy to Carry me to Littleton for twenty dollars and said if I would give him twenty more he would find another hors for my baggage and said he had some more hard money & if I would change fifty paper Dollars he would let me have another Joannes which I Did and if I would give him fifty six Dollars he would Let me have two Guinnes which I Did I saw a hessian in Cambridge and changed fifty Paper Dollars for two Guinnes then I left Cambridge and went to Littleton and Cap^t Gilbert & I went to boston to Get my father out of the flag but Gen^l Heath would not Permit him to come out & there I bought 3 yd^s of Salloon & 3 yds of Lace & Exchanged 3 twenty Dollar bills then I returned to Cambridge and there I Met a Negro fellow with a watch and I gave him four twenty Dollar bills and 2 Eight Dollar bills & one four Dollar bill for ^{re} watch then I returned to Littleton & from there to Keen and got to Benjⁿ Halls and his Son Annanias asked me if I had got any Catchett meaning counterfit money I told him yes he Looked on it and told me he would put it of for me & Return me two thirds of it in good money which I consented to Do after that Zibia Hall his Brother asked me if I had any Catchett I told I had not for Anna['] had got it he said he was the wrong person to give it too for he would be to Ventersome I saw Anny after that he told me that Zibia wanted it for he had put of A large Some of it which if I mistake not was four Hundred Dollars & that 30 Dollars was returned Back which he could not put of So I went home and was Immediately taken up and then I sent my Brother Joseph to Anna hall for the money I left with him and he brought 7 forty Dol Bills & 1 twenty Do & 1 good Do & Keep^t two I had Left ten forty Dollar Bills with him & one twenty—My Brother Joseph & I hid the money he brought from Anna^s Hall in the barn Namely 7 forty Dollar bills & 1 twenty Do all the money I mentioned in the foregoing Account that I have not Called good I suppose was Counterfit—while I was at Cambridge at Joseph Welches Welch Inquired of me About the Monmouth Battle & about ^{re} Brittish troops I told him they Suffered A Good Deal he said the Rebels had it in there papers that they ware beat but he Did not Believe and said he wished to God that he was at New York with his famely and Enquired if there was any Houses to be Let I told him yes but they are very Dear he Repeated he Wished he was there Dear as they was—

New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters

while I was in New-York I saw one Timothy Lovell of Rockingham and one Hubbard of Windsor in y^e State of Vermont two Refugees and they have both stole out since and I saw Lovell in Littleton and he told me not to Mention to any Body that he was out of New York for it might hurt him and would not Do me any Good and he enquired where Maj^r Joseph Blanchard Lived & said he was going there to Holles but nobody suspected that Hubbard had ben to N York that I know of and he now Lives peaceably at home as I have heard I Likewise saw one Joseph Durfey of New London in y^e State of Connecticut in New York He said he Did not know what the Rebels would Do to him when he came out nor Did not care a D^d t—d.

the foregoing Relation is to the Best of my Remembrance the truth the whole truth and Nothing but the truth which I can attest before the Almighty God.

January 8th 1779.

WILLIAM BAXTER

N. B. Said Baxter confessed that his brother Joseph told him that annanias Hall told him he put off a 40 Dollar bill to one Hall a sadler in Keen, in the following way the Sadler gave a good 40 Dollar Bill to said annanias to change into small Bills—and ann^s said after taking the good Bill & could not change it, and then gave him a Counterfeit in Lieu⁸¹

On the day that William Baxter made his confession the Committee of Safety ordered the arrest of his brother, Joseph, designated in the warrant as “Infant,” and of Annanias and Ziba Hall of Keene,⁸² while on January 16, 1779, a warrant was issued to apprehend Simon Baxter, Jr., and his brother, Benjamin. Colonel Samuel Folsom, who took Joseph Baxter into custody, reported that he found on him seven 40-dollar bills and one 20-dollar note, all supposed to be counterfeits.⁸³ Benjamin Baxter made and signed the following statement, implicating Annanias Hall, but not Ziba, in the passing of spurious notes:

My Brother W^m Came from y^e Regulars—he Told me that he had Brought 42 Dolers & Left it with Hanniah Hall to pass & agreed with Hall that s^d Hall Should have one third for passing it. My Brother W^m Desierd me to Stop as i was going to Boston & See that Hall let my Brother Jo—Have the Counterfit Money for he was afraid to have it pass

⁸¹ *N. H. Provincial and State Papers*, XI: 26–28.

⁸² See the warrant of January 8, 1779, in the New Hampshire Archives, 1779–1780 in the New Hampshire Historical Society.

⁸³ See the warrant and return on the reverse thereof in N. H. Archives, 1779–1780

S^d Hall Let me have seven forty Doller bills & 1 twenty Doller Bill that were counterfit & 1 Forty Doller that was Good & he told me that he passt y^e Forty Doller Bill at Ben Willard, by puting it into a Box Where their was true Money & taking a true Bill in Lue of it then i Set for Boston When i went from Home i Took from Brother W^m 53 Dollers that he had of Nath^l Hall of Keen that he Took for a watch & Eight Dollers i Took of S^d Nath^l & ye forty Doller Bill that was Good that i had of Han^b & then went to Boston & went to y^e Ship where My father was their Cap^t Freears asked me if i Had any paper Money that i Would Change for hard Money i told him i had not. he told me he wanted paper Money to Buy Dry fish to Carry to New York for their he Could Make Great advance by it then he ask^d me if i wanted to buy a Watch i Told him i could not Spare Money Enough to buy it then father Spoke & ask^d me how much Money i Could Spare i told him forty Dollers y^e Cap^t S^d you Shall have it for that & then told father he Should do the thing that was Right & father S^d he would then i got y^e Watch mended & gave ten Dolers for mending it.—

My father asked me if States Money past i told him it Did if it was Good then he gave me about 20 Dollers five of it y^e Bay Money which i change^d with y^e Treasurer their then father gave me one ½ Johan^s which i gave the one half for a p^r of jewels & five paper Dollers & i Bought one lb of Chocolat & one lb of Spice ½ lb of pepper & gave Eight Dollers to y^e Men that Carried to Ship where My father was then i came Back to Keen & Han^b Hall told me that he had pass^d one more of y^e forty Doller Bill which he pass^d at Landlord Tucker at Marlborough for a Reconing at an ordination the foregoing is y^e truth according to y^e Best of My Remembrance

Hannahiah Hall confirmed to me what my brother had before told me, viz that he said Hall was to have one third of the Counterfeit Money for passing it and when I went to take it up from s^d Hall he Insisted upon keeping one third to himself which he said was the bargain.⁸⁴

Simon Baxter, Jr., at the same time made a very illiterate confession, also implicating Annanias Hall. It runs as follows:

After my brother came hom from the Ragulors I inquired if he had brot any Counter fit mony he told me No he had not and I beleavd him and So did not Inquire any further about that mater he desired me to help him out of this Scrape and said I Should naver Catch him in another accordingly I came to Exeter with Mr printis^{84a} and my brother and

⁸⁴ N. H. Archives, 1778.

^{84a} Nathaniel Sartell Prentice came to Alstead from Grafton, Mass., in 1774. He was the town's first representative in the Provincial Congress, a member of the committee of safety, judge of the inferior court, and a major during the Revolution. See Marion Nicholl Rawson, *op. cit.*, 192, 204–206.

New Hampshire Tory Counterfeiters

found things vary dificul but the honored Cort tuck bons of us and after Mr. printis and I had Set out for hom and got sum rods my brother colled me to Stop which I did and he told me that he had brot Som counterfit mony which I told him I wonred at but thought that if I Should La the mater befor the Cort that he would be Sent out of the contry which I was Loath that he Should I had not but a minnit with him for mr printis wated So I went hom Resolving to burn the money as soon as got there and Sent my brother Joseph to the barn to git the mony and he fetchted it and we tolked to burn it in the Spot but our mother said it mit be that william would tell the Cort of it and tha would send for it and that if thay could not git it thay would blame us for burning it So I told my brother to La it where he got it and went hom but felt consernd for fear that we Should git in troubel about that mony and thought to Cary the mony to Squiere printis but was afraed that we should be wors ont than to Cary it to the Cort and So I went to mager printis and got him to rite for me So that when I got hear I mit giv bonds and git my brother hom

I intended when I got down to told my brother to tell the Honored Committe the whol about the mony the paper which mager printis Rote for me was Rot before Cort session came up there and if I had not bin disapointed I Should have com down and Sen that my brother had told your Honors the whole about the mater my brother told me that he had Left the mony at furst with hanis hall at Kean but that it was now in the barn at hom in the hay where Joseph and he had Layed it he prayd me not to hurt him but to help him and he wod behave well for the futur

I think this is the whol truth
as far as cam to my knoledg.⁸⁵

Although no action was taken against Benjamin and Simon Baxter, Jr., Annanias Hall was imprisoned in Exeter and released on bail on January 22, 1779. Simon Baxter, Sr., was apprehended in Boston, as is shown by the following passage written by William Baxter in Exeter on December 8, 1778, to his brother Simon:

I have no Nues that I dare to rite But if the Commite of Safety of Exerter shold send for Some mony that I left with Joseph Baxter in the barn namely 7 seven forty Dollars Bils and one Twenty Dollar Bil By all Means if the Commite of Safety shold send for them let them come & if they send for my hard mony let that com by all means—one half Johanas & 3 guines & if they send for what they will let them have it. I asshuer you that it Greavs me to heir the Nues that I heir from Boston concerning father who has had a larg Sum of mony Counterfit found with him & is now upon tryal for it.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ N. H. Archives, 1778.

⁸⁶ Weare Papers, VII: 95.

Simon Baxter, Sr., lay in prison in Boston for nine months under indictment for high treason and for passing an eight-dollar counterfeit bill. He was convicted, led to the gallows, kept there an hour with a rope about his neck, but finally released in August 1779 on security of £2,000. He then was sent to the Rutland Barracks, where he was paroled for fourteen days to visit his family at Alstead. After two days at home he was set upon by a mob which beat him dreadfully and took away his pass and parole. He was thrown into the Keene Gaol from which he was released by the High Sheriff. After he had reached Vermont, a party sent after him took him to Rutland, where he was ordered to Worcester Gaol by the sentence of three officers to be confined during the war. He once more made his escape and got to Penobscot. In December 1781 he went back to Alstead, took his family with him, and settled in New Brunswick, where he died at Norton, King's County, in 1804.⁸⁷

The suffering caused, in part at least, by the counterfeiting activities of the Loyalists made those who were known or suspected to have been engaged in such matters an object of hatred to patriots. The important pre-revolutionary status of the majority of such New Hampshire counterfeiters indicated that in general their motive was not gain but a desire to harm the cause of rebellion, and the damage which they inflicted must have been considerable, despite the detection of so many concerned.

⁸⁷ Br. Com. Reports, I: 135-136; and Lorenzo Sabine, *op. cit.*, II: 148-149.



DESIGNED BY EDWIN DAVID FRENCH, NEW YORK, 1898

[The Exhibition was in memory of Arnold Wood]



DESIGNED BY ALFRED DOWNEY, LONDON, 1911

[Downey considered this his best plate]

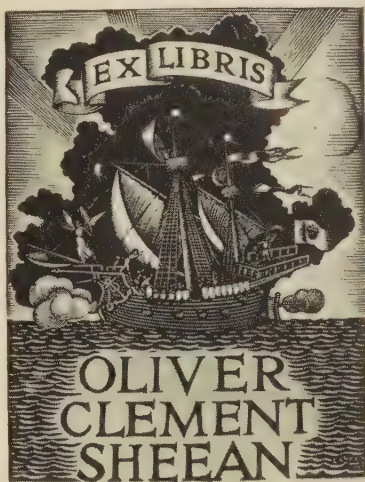
BOOKPLATES: THE OLIVER CLEMENT SHEEAN COLLECTION

by GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

THE New-York Historical Society is indebted to Mr. Oliver Clement Sheean of Portland, Maine, for one of the finest collections of bookplates—or *ex libris*—that has ever been assembled. They were exhibited throughout the two months ending December 6th so that artists and others might see these exquisite examples of woodcuts, and steel and copper engravings that have been used to identify books and their owners, almost from the time books were first made.

The oldest dated woodcut represents St. Christopher carrying Jesus on his shoulders across a river and was made in 1423. But other specimens, because of their crudeness, may have better claims to antiquity.

With the coming of printing, an impetus was given to the production of engraved wood blocks and it was not long before books were illustrated in that medium. Caxton in England, for instance, brought out his *Game & playe of Chesse* in 1476 with woodcuts, the *Fables of Aesop*, 1484, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and other illustrated books—not very fine in execution perhaps, but important in the history of art. Add to this, too, that practically all engravings on wood from the earliest time to that of Bewick were done with the knife, no other tools being used. The wood then, as now, was principally boxwood, because of its close grain, firm texture and the possibility of making a



smooth surface. This latter called for a little white watercolor to give it a slight "tooth" upon which the picture was drawn in reverse. Of course for large work softer woods like apple, pear, sycamore, and others were used upon which a drawing could be seen. The engraver simply had to cut away the spaces between the lines to a sufficient depth to escape the ink in printing.

That is the difference between woodcuts and steel or copper engraving. In the latter case there is some question as to where it began—some claim in Germany, but from all we can gather it was in Italy where the art was first practiced in the workshops of the goldsmiths. Anyway, there is no doubt that the first book ever printed in Rome was illustrated by the first copperplate engraving. This was dated 1478 but was commenced six years earlier. Germany, however, came on apace and we have to hand it to Albert Dürer for carrying engraving to a degree of perfection previously unknown. It is he, too, that is believed to have invented the art of etching.

It was not long before the Dutch and Flemish schools got busy, followed by the French, whereas England lagged behind, and previous to the mid-18th century all those practicing the art there were from other countries. Of course, there was no good reason for this, because England had plenty of artists and, to one skilled in drawing, etching, or dry point, offered a delightful field for the exercise of his genius.

Only a few tools are necessary and these are not costly. The design is cut into the surface of the metal with a fine tool termed a graver—a rat-tailed file is not so bad either—and the print is made from filling the lines so cut with a special ink. The plate is kept warm, the superfluous ink wiped off, and the plate then covered with a sheet of paper slightly damp. The press subjects it to such pressure as forces the paper into the inked lines and we have our impression. As easy as that! And that is how our bookplates are made.

If you failed to see the exhibit, come in to the Society's Library and have some of the notable examples brought out for you. Did



BOOKPLATE OF PRINCESS ALEXANDRA VICTORIA OF PRUSSIA

Designed and engraved by Franz von Bayros (never before reproduced)

Sheean Collection, The New-York Historical Society

AMMIRAGLI ANTENATI



MASO NO DELL'AVVENIRE

Alberto Heberich

you ever see anything more exquisite than some of those things they paste in books to show who owns 'em? Longfellow never had a bookplate but used his visiting cards as labels in his books. The Hon. J. Leicester Warren, M.A., says in his *Guide to the Study of Book-Plates (ex-libris)* that, "Having selected a volume from one of those mysterious receptacles of drift literature, which stand at booksellers' doors with the intimation, *all in this box threepence*, on a dirty piece of cardboard poised on a ragged fragment of stick, the book hunter will presently at home inspect his new acquisition. The book is opened and displays, pasted inside the cover, a paper label. It reads, in a plain border, *William Downing, his book, 1744*. Now, in England we call such a ticket as this, William Downing's book-plate, as abroad it would be called his *ex-libris*. In either case the meaning is, that this special volume was in 1744 William Downing's property and no other man's; that the book was *one from among his books*, an item of his library, a unit in his collection."

That was all there was to it.

It is quite common, says Mr. Sheean, for people who give away lots of books to have a presentation bookplate made on which there is a space left for the new owner's name, and those who collect miniature books usually have miniature bookplates made especially for them. Also many bookplates show their owner's interests, for instance, a reference to the theatre, favorite books, ships, angling, a printing press—anything.

Styles of dress, too, frequently date a bookplate—bustles, Merry Widow hats, and so forth. Giorgio Balbi's shows an old view of Genoa with the three ships of Columbus, while in the sky is a modern airship. Sir Robert Peel who started the London police system has "Bobbies," and Emil Netter, who committed suicide after the Nazis took everything he had, fancied a moth—the motto, "Death comes at the last hour." But there is not much point in picking out a few and describing them in this way. One really should see the collection to get a proper idea of how so many people we know preferred their bookplates.

Bookplates

About 800 were shown during the exhibition out of a total of over 7,500, to which Mr. Sheean is constantly adding, and our staff is only too willing to show and explain anything we have that is not on view.

Those that excited the most interest at the formal opening, it seemed, were the notables—Mussolini, Hitler, Dickens, Carnegie, Coolidge, Dorothy Thompson, James Whitcomb Riley, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Napoleon, and royalty; and musicians like Caruso, Strauss, Farrar, Jerome Kern.

I believe the Declaration of Independence starts out with the “self-evident” truth that “all men are created equal”; that being so, the question is: how long do they remain equal and how many could ever do these exquisite specimens of art?

With Mr. Sheean’s splendid gift now supplementing our already important holdings of bookplates and related reference works in the Bella C. Landauer Collection, these two great collections really make The New-York Historical Society’s possessions in this field notable.



ADOLF HITLER

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Esculapius Comes to the Colonies: The Story of the Early Days of Medicine in the Thirteen Colonies. By MAURICE BEAR GORDON, M.D. (Ventnor, N. J.: Ventnor Publishers Inc., 1949. xiv + 560 pages, index, illus. \$10.00.)

Colonial medicine has received scant attention from the students of American history, although some fine works on the subject have been written by physicians. This seems unfortunate, as much of the success of the colonization in America depended upon the health of the individuals in the various new communities. It is known that the lack of essential foods and epidemics of diseases played a most unfortunate part in the abandonment of some of the early settlements, but aside from this little information has been mentioned by historians of the means established to combat sickness among the colonists. This and other subjects related to medicine are touched upon within the pages of the book under review. It is a tale of the struggle of the early colonists to maintain their health, of the care of the sick during the epidemics of contagious diseases which swept through these new communities exacting a dreadful toll, of the lack of doctors and hospitals, of the education of the physician and of his relation to the community.

Following a general introduction, the author takes up individually the medical history of each one of the thirteen original colonies, from the time of its first settlement up through the colonial period to the end of the War of Independence. Beginning these chapters with a historical résumé of the founding and settlement of the colony under consideration, the author then continues by presenting the medical side of the history. He tells of the early struggle of the colonists to exist, of their health and medical care. He then proceeds to write of individual physicians and surgeons, their education and practice, their influence in establishing educational facilities for furthering medical knowledge and the part they played as citizens in public affairs. Many of these doctors took important parts in history; aside from having gained fame in their profession, they were patriots and statesmen. As an example it may be mentioned that five physicians signed the Declaration of Independence.

The majority of the earliest practitioners came from the British Isles and some from other European countries. Later a few young men from the colonies journeyed to their mother countries to obtain a medical education and return to the New World to practice, but most of the doctors in the rural districts had only such knowledge as they had gained through an apprenticeship. It was those who had visited Europe or Britain who assisted in the founding of hospitals in the American colonies, formed medical societies for the exchange of experiences, and established

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the first medical colleges. Aside from the important facts concerning colonial medical history, many interesting tales and anecdotes are recited to enliven the interest of the narrative.

Evidently much time and care has been expended in the preparation of this work, which includes a large amount of material obtained from original sources. Some of this appears in the form of extensive quotations; it is however to be regretted that exact references to the source of this material are missing.

In form the book is attractive and is extensively illustrated. This history of colonial medicine can be recommended as an interesting and instructive narrative and should be of value to the historian although there are some statements that may be questioned.

The New-York Historical Society

FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D.

The New York Academy of Medicine: Its First Hundred Years. By PHILIP VAN INGEN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. xii + 573 pages, index, 46 illus. \$10.00.)

By no means the oldest extant medical society of the academy type in this country, the New York Academy of Medicine had become, long before it celebrated its one hundredth anniversary, in 1947, the most influential medical organization in the city, and a model for similar institutions throughout the country. Through its scientific and lay lectures, its publications, its library, its public health and information committees, it has profoundly affected the practice of medicine and, no less importantly, the relations between the medical profession and the public. It perhaps should not be surprising, in view of the checkered early careers of other eminent organizations, to learn from Dr. Van Ingen's centennial history of the Academy that that now noble and venerable institution had a youth as wayward and unpromising as the best of them.

Surely the institutional biographer undertakes one of the most difficult tasks known to historiography. He must provide an immense amount of factual detail useful for reference, and then somehow clothe it in such fashion that its pattern shows. Dr. Van Ingen, who has been a distinguished Fellow of the Academy for many years and is now a member of its Library Committee, has chosen an uncompromisingly chronological, year by year, approach—a standard one for such institutional biographies but one making unholy demands on the casual reader. Fortunately, the demands are lightened, in this case, by the author's acutely perceptive, often humorously irreverent, treatment of the material coming under his hand. For all its being essentially a catalogue of ships (and cargoes), this is personalized history-writing by a scholarly writer having at his command a thorough knowledge of his subject, critical independ-

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nce, wit, and an informal literary style so singularly adroit that it is able to lend a surprising degree of color and animation to even the most inert material.

Useful as this book will be, and charmingly accomplished as it is, its method is not quite carried to its logical conclusion, nor does it contain that final synthesis and philosophical review of the assembled facts which is one of the higher opportunities the collection of them brings to us. "The history of the New York Academy of Medicine is spread over some 6,000 pages of minutes of Stated Meetings, and meetings of the Trustees and the Council," the author states in his Preface. "There are as many or more pages of minutes of the Standing and Special Committees, of the Sections, and the Treasurer's records." Further, it was necessary to resort frequently to the medical journals and the daily press of the period covered. No reflection on the author's personal standards of scholarship (which are obviously of the highest) is intended when it is observed that there is nothing in the shape of a formal bibliography and that the printed text is bare of precise documentation. An excellent index helps us to trace the succession of officers, the rise and activities of committees, sections, and lectureships, etc.; but, again, the reference value of this information is enormous, and it would seem that the scattered information on unitary activities might well have been brought together and made more easily accessible in the form of appendices.

Ideally, what institutional biography seems to call for is the bi-partite history: all the organic, reference material presented separately in easily usable form and supporting a synthesis of the significant details, from which the historian is able to formulate and postulate on the larger issues, thus widening the perceptions of the reader. Admittedly, this is not always feasible. There remains the possibility, even under the strictly chronological method, of supplying in a concluding chapter a synthesis and interpretation of the significant that the historian himself is in the most favored position to give. Dr. Van Ingen contrives very successfully to illuminate his factual material *passim*. Perhaps now that the pressure of producing, in two years' time, a history of the Academy's activities during a century is removed, he can be persuaded to give us, as he is so well equipped to do, that missing chapter—a critical summation of the major forces that worked both for and against the Academy's ultimate emergence, from early discord, wavering ideals, and penury, as the strong and beneficent institution that it is today. The material is in his present book; the synthesis would be, for him, not unduly arduous; and the lessons would be salutary indeed for all those earnestly striving to reconcile their human differences in order that the institutional banner under which they serve may remain aloft.

College of Physicians of Philadelphia

W. B. McDANIEL, II

Book Reviews and Notices

Annals of the New York Stage, Volume XV, 1891-1894. By GEORGE C. D. ODELL. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. xvii + 1010 pages, index, illus. \$12.50.)

While I was perusing the latest volume of Professor Odell's magnificent history of the New York stage, I was deeply shocked one morning to receive through the newspapers the inevitable notice of his death. Dr. Odell's history has always been a race against time. He knew that the odds were heavily against him, as though he were doing a three-way parley, for no man at the age of sixty could hope to encompass the complete annals of our local stage within the period that was appointed for him—a period which had only to do with the mortality of his body and not the vast compass of his mind. After all, he spent at least twenty years of research before the issuance of the first volume in 1927.

George Odell, whom the Society knows so well and admires so much, had set his final goal at 1900. Burns Mantle, an admirer of Odell and a sincere scholar of the stage, extended his statistical history of the New York theatre back to the 1899-1900 season, with the sincere hope that Odell and Mantle would meet. Slowed down by the overwhelming ponderousness of scholarly research and the increasing ailments of the body, George Odell failed to meet the deadline set by the late Burns Mantle, almost ten years his junior. When those two great theatre men, scholar and critic, meet sometime in Heaven to discuss their accomplishments and their failure to join their historical research, they will undoubtedly smile wryly over their after-dinner cups and hope that the Columbia University Press will realize the necessity of continuing the Odell *Annals* just as Dodd, Mead did in regard to Mr. Mantle's *Best Plays* series. What a magnificent opportunity for a theatre scholar to have the opportunity of connecting the work of two scholars and lovers of our theatre!

A born New York Stater—Newburgh, March 19, 1866—Professor Odell taught at Columbia thousands upon thousands of students who came out of his classes with a greater love and appreciation of the theatre than was in their comprehension when they entered his courses. A devoted playgoer since his own undergraduate days at Columbia back in the 1880's, he found increasing dissatisfaction with the stage as it existed today.

Glamour and greatness were what he looked for and the ever-increasing preoccupation with the ugly commercial side of producing, which is much publicized today, was foreign to his mind and abhorrent to him personally.

The thousand pages of this last volume came at the heyday of his delight in the theatre. In his late twenties he attended the opening of the playhouse which is today our oldest in point of continuous operation—The Empire. But let us let him tell it in his own words:

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"As the stock companies of Daly and Palmer went into a decline, a new company sprang into existence in a new theatre north of Daly's and Palmer's houses. Charles Frohman, whose rapid rise we have noted from his emergence with *Shenandoah*, through the success of *Men and Women* and *The Lost Paradise*, in Proctor's Twenty-third Street Theatre, now secured a theatre of his own, and in it installed the company of actors with whom he had won acclaim in Twenty-third street.

"This new house, the Empire Theatre, on the east side of Broadway, below Fortieth Street, and therefore directly opposite the Metropolitan Opera House, was built by Al Hayman and Frank W. Sanger, with William Harris, of Rich and Harris, an interested party. A seating capacity of about eleven hundred persons, a handsome interior in red and gold (approached through a long, roomy passage from Broadway) and an almost invariably honest and attractive stage performance soon elevated the Empire into a leading centre of amusements in our town. That proud position it never lost, and today (1947), when every theatre in existence when the Empire was built has gone into the valley of forgetfulness, Frohman's cherished scene of activities still stands, the leading playhouse of New York, the only theatre in the city with a settled policy of good plays well presented, a theatre to which now, as fifty years ago, when it began its fine career, one can go with a fixed certainty of finding entertainment worthy of attention. The Empire has never followed strange gods. If Frohman did not flounder in the Ibsen vale of despond, he never fell into the morass of indecent inducement in the subject-matter of plays. He is accused by idealists of being very commercial-minded in the theatre; if so he was clean-minded in what he presented. I believe he loved the theatre devotedly and gave to it everything he had. He stands as the supreme head of the theatrical 'trust'; perhaps a 'trust' was needed to gather together the wreckage from the shattered system of the past. In saying this I can only crave pardon from idealist followers of William Winter and Ranken Towse. I spent many a delightful evening in the Empire Theatre in the first half-century of its existence.

"The house opened, on January 25, 1893, with an enormous hit in its first play. The master-magician of 'big' situations, David Belasco, long a friend of Frohman, deferred work on *The Heart of Maryland*, which he was writing for Mr. Leslie Carter, and laboured assiduously, assisted by Franklyn Fyles, dramatic editor of the *Sun*, on an opening play for the Empire. Taking the hint from the soldier uniforms of *Shenandoah*, Belasco placed his scene in an army post in Western preserves, beset by fear of Indian uprisings. In addition to army uniforms, Belasco wished for fine evening clothes, and achieved his purpose by having a ball at the post, in honour of the commander's daughter, who has just arrived for a visit. Then the blow falls. The Indians, under Scar-Brow, a fearsome stage figure, besiege the post, the daughter beseeches her father to kill her to save her from something worse, and then she hears, super-

sensitively, the approach of help, which her lover had courageously gone out to find. The pathetic Fawn Afraid, Scar-Brow's daughter, figures in the proceedings, before and after she is shot, giving the audience suspenseful thrills on the theme, 'Daughter for daughter.'

"This was, in fact, a most skilful melodrama, tailored for polite audiences, and, if the scene of 'Kill me, father,' suggested Virginius and Virginia, and Kate's hearing the approach of help suggested Jessie Brown, who cared? Belasco was strong in adopting and adapting such devices as the big situation in *May Blossom* proved, and as the bell-swinging was to prove, later, in *The Heart of Maryland*. Besides, had not a greater than Belasco—Shakespeare—indulged in various helpings from the tables of others? William Winter (in his life of Belasco) and Arthur H. Quinn (*History of the American Drama*) are enthusiastic about this new Belasco play.

"The *Girl I Left Behind Me*, a title suggested by Daniel Frohman, was at once adopted for the Belasco-Fyles play. After delays inevitable in the opening of the new house (even on the last day, the electric-light refused to work), the theatre and the new play achieved possibly the greatest success of that season in New York:

General Kennion	Frank Mordaunt
Major Burleigh	W. H. Thompson
Lieutenant Hawkesworth	William Morris
Lieutenant Parlow	Nelson Wheatcroft
Sergeant Dicks	Thomas Oberle
Orderly McGlynn	J. O. Barrows
Private Jones	Orrin Johnson
Dr. Fenwick	Cyril Scott
Dick Burleigh	Wallie Eddinger
Andy Jackson	Joseph Adelman
Scar-Brow	Theodore Roberts
Fell-an-Ox	Frank Lathrop
Silent Tongue	Arthur Hayden
Kate Kennion	Sydney Armstrong
Lucy Hawkesworth	Odette Tyden
Wilber's Ann	Edna Wallace
Fawn Afraid	Katherine Florence

These names will, most of them, be recognised as having participated in Frohman's successes at the Twenty-third Street Theatre; Maude Adams had passed to the Drew support, and Edna Wallace was new. The great outstanding performance in the new play was that of Theodore Roberts as Scar-Brow; in make-up, Indian dignity and implacability, he gave a masterly rendering of a striking part; Katherine Florence as Fawn Afraid, the timid, broken-hearted girl, was also unforgettable.

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in a striking role. Mordaunt, Morris, Wheatcroft and Sydney Armstrong had changed their locale without seriously changing the characters they had assumed in *Men and Women*. This was the last season of William Morris and Miss Armstrong in the local Charles Frohman company.

"Thus splendidly launched, the new play sailed down the full stream of public approval."

Though American drama was still relatively unimportant except for the work of Bronson Howard, James A. Herne, Steele MacKaye, and to a lesser extent, David Belasco, the acting stage was vital in the fashion that is almost unknown today. Ada Rehan, Viola Allen, Maude Adams, John Drew, Sir Henry Irving, Ellen Terry, were seen year after year in classical repertory and extended runs of new plays hardly worth their time.

At the Metropolitan Opera House, Emma Calvé, Pol Plançon, Jean and Edouard de Reszke, and Emma Eames, as well as Nellie Melba, and Lillian Nordica, delighted music lovers. It was a heyday for the acting and musical celebrity. Even today with our adulation of stage, film, radio, and, recently, television stars, we have little conception of the importance of those men and women whose thespian art transcended our stage and influenced playgoers all over the country in the Eighteen-Nineties. It was the time of devout attention to the lyric and dramatic stage and no competition was offered from canned or wired entertainment.

In his free and flowing account of theatrical performances throughout the five boroughs of New York City, Professor Odell has crammed riches far in excess of anything that is offered us today. There just was much more theatrical producing fifty years ago.

The richness, and the added value of Odell's eye-witnessing which is inherent in these later volumes, make this perhaps the most absorbing, the most theatrically exciting, and certainly the most historically valuable of all these annals of our stage.

Curator, Theatre Collection, New York Public Library

GEORGE FREEDLEY

Across the Wide Missouri. By BERNARD DeVOTO. Illustrated with Paintings by Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Bodmer and George Catlin. With an Account of the Discovery of the Miller Collection by Mae Reed Porter. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947. xxvii + 483 pages, 81 plates, 19 in color, appendix, biblio., index, end-paper maps. \$10.00.)

In four prefatory sentences to his very readable, well-documented, and beautifully illustrated contribution to the history of the American Frontier, Mr. DeVoto presents his theme, establishes the time-limits of his history, indicates his method of presentation, and states his purpose.

His theme is the social history of the Rocky Mountain fur trade "during the years of its climax and decline." The period includes the five years extending from 1833 through 1838. In presenting his material, Mr. DeVoto's method is to trace the westward migrations of the adventurers, explorers, emigrants, and missionaries during the same period, and relate them to his main theme which involves the amalgamation of most of the small fur companies into two opposing enterprises, and the struggles of a few independent companies to break into the mountain fur trade. His purpose, he states, is "to entertain the general reader."

In order that the chief participants may be easily identified and the incidents in which they were involved may be viewed with historical perspective, Mr. DeVoto has prefixed his volume with a "dramatis personae" and terminated it with a chronology beginning with 1804 when Lewis and Clark started on their expedition. The sixty-two tone plates and nineteen color illustrations illuminating the text are contemporary pictorial documents by Alfred Jacob Miller, Charles Bodmer, and George Catlin. While these artists all take their places in the main narrative, so important does Mr. DeVoto consider their contribution to our visual comprehension of the Far West as it was first seen by the white men, that he treats them as individuals in a separate section of his appendix.

Writing in a direct sometimes colloquial style, Mr. DeVoto presents a stirring and dramatic narrative teeming with the characters who hunted, trapped, traded, fought, and went exploring in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West, and thus prepared the way for the settlers who made the United States a continental nation. The underlying conflict in the drama is the ruthless struggle between John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company, called The Trust, and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, called the Opposition, for the control of the fur trade. The opening scene takes place on April 10, 1833, aboard the American Fur Company's steamer *Yellowstone* at the time of its debarcation from Saint Louis for a voyage up the Missouri to Fort Union. One of the men on board was Kenneth McKenzie, the King of the Missouri, who had fought the Astor interests and had won so triumphantly that he was taken into The Trust as a partner almost on his own terms. Also on board was young Pierre Chouteau, the active head of the Saint Louis firm of Pratte, Chouteau and Company, now consolidated with The Trust. Stating the harsh objective of his company, Chouteau directed McKenzie: *écraser toute opposition*. McKenzie was on his way up the Missouri to carry out this destruction.

Still another important passenger aboard the steamer, although not connected with the fur trade, was Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied, who, after serving as an officer in the Napoleonic wars was now carrying out his desire to conduct a scientific exploration of the Far West. With the Prince traveled Carl Bodmer who made the drawings later published

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as an atlas, or pictorial supplement, to the Prince's account of his expedition. Ten of Bodmer's pictures are reproduced in Mr. DeVoto's book.

At the same time that the Prince left Saint Louis, another explorer, and veteran of the Napoleonic wars, Captain William Drummond Stewart of Grandtully, who became Sir William in 1838, led his entourage along the overland route which became known as the Oregon Trail. Later, on his expedition in 1837, he was accompanied by a young artist from Baltimore, Alfred Jacob Miller, sixty-eight of whose first-hand pictorial documents are scattered throughout the narrative and bring it to life as vividly and authentically as any of the verbal source material. Such is the beginning of Mr. DeVoto's history.

But it is not alone as an engrossing narrative that Mr. DeVoto's book will hold the reader's attention: it is also because Mr. DeVoto has brought to a focus many widely scattered facts and altered numerous misconceptions of the Far West. We learn, for example, that the Indians were not always clashing with the white men, indeed they were generally fighting among themselves and often identified their interests with those of the white men, fighting on the side of the invaders. Furthermore Mr. DeVoto points out that "the first step in the white man's exploitation of the Indian was to raise his standard of living" and that the Indians of the West, being "a neolithic people in conflict with a higher culture," were "the first victims of a developing system whose later successive victims have been white." And finally, he compares the wasteful methods of the American exploiters of the West with the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company, a monopoly directed by "the British imperial caste dealing wisely, sternly, profitably with any set of natives." He states that the American West "has always been exploited by absentee owners and managers under the sanction of imported law" and that it "always had to make up its law as it went along."

The Century Club

THEODORE BOLTON

The Winooski, Heartway of Vermont. By RALPH NADING HILL. [Rivers of America series.] (New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company, 1949. 304 pages, illus. by George Daly; map, biblio., index. \$3.50.)

Our Indians bequeathed to us some of the most beautiful place-names in the world; "names like symphonies," John Buchan called them; and we rejoice that Mr. Hill has given his book the Indian name of his river, instead of the English equivalent by which it has been most commonly known—Onion. So it should be always. Why should Idaho's great river be cursed with the hideous name Snake, instead of the beautiful Shoshone that it used to have, even in the white man's atlases?

But as for the Winooski, Vermont's largest, yet only an overgrown brook some 90 miles long, counting all the curves, its headwaters are on

the eastern side of the State, where the near-by Connecticut would seem to be the easiest way out, instead of which it perversely heads westward, cleaves the great granite mass of the Green Mountains almost down to sea-level and empties into Lake Champlain. One might fancy it so resentful over that cold deal by which the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire follows the west bank of the Connecticut, leaving not an inch of that river in the possession of Vermont, that it refuses even to acknowledge the existence of the Connecticut. The two principal cities of Vermont, the capital, Montpelier, and the largest municipality, Burlington, as well as the State University, are all on the banks of the Winooski. This being a small river, the author is compelled to cover much more than its actual watershed in gathering his material, but he makes the story all interesting, and all well spiced with the flavor of this, perhaps the Yankeest of all Yankee States—the one which, alone in the Union, had the courage to bristle up to the Roosevelt Administration and flatly forbid the placing on its soil of two of Washington's favorite boondoggling jobs—a big power dam and a parkway along the crest of the Green Mountains, which would have robbed that sublime wilderness of much of its beauty.

After the Indians, the next supermen to appear in the Green Mountain area were the five Allen brothers; and here we learn that the really great man of the family was not Ethan, the Terror of Ticonderoga and herald of Jehovah and the Continental Congress—though Ethan was an important figure, too—but Ira, the man of business, whom the author calls the Father of Vermont. The Onion River Land Company which he promoted, owned 60,000 acres of land in 1773, plus flour mills, forges, furnaces, and other agencies of production, and for a time *was* Vermont. The Allens fought valiantly in the Revolution, which took the lives of two of them; and afterwards, when the Union was being organized, Ira and Ethan had to use the strategy of appearing to dicker for admission to Canada (and no one to this day can swear that it was entirely strategic) to force admission for Vermont into the new United States. Other notable worthies of that period, including one-eyed Governor Tom Chittenden and Matthew Lyon, the Irish firebrand, appear in the story. Ira finally went the way of many another who has deserved better of his fellow-countrymen, and after some sad adventures, died a broken man.

Several genii, some of them unrecognized, of the Winooski watershed, are touched upon; Tom Davenport, for example, a poor young blacksmith, who set going in 1834 what is said to have been the world's first electric motor, but who was too far ahead of his time; and one of those infant mathematical supermen, who can do sums mentally which many of us can't even do on paper. There was a short-lived communistic community in 1874-75, with its dash of free love, and there was some of the most weird early railroad financing ever seen on this continent.

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The great granite quarries of Barre, beside an upper fork of the Winooski, have brought the only foreign elements to Vermont—for the famous von Trapp family of musicians, in a tributary valley, can hardly be called an element. To the quarries came first Scottish stonemasons, then Scandinavians, Finns, Poles, Irish, English, Italians and others, the Italians doing the elegant tombstone sculpture of today.

There is a vivid picture of the great flood of 1927, which almost wrecked the State; killed 55 persons, swept away whole villages, landmarks, hundreds of miles of railroad track and many of the cherished old covered bridges. A typical Yankee reaction was that of a Vermonter, standing with a neighbor beside the raging Winooski, watching the remains of two bridges floating down the torrent.

"By George, Harry!" said he, "Taxes are goin' to be steep!"

New York City

ALVIN F. HARLOW

Early Connecticut Meetinghouses: Being an Account of the Church Edifices Built before 1830, Based Chiefly upon Town and Parish Records. By J. FREDERICK KELLY. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Vol. I: 332 pages, illus. Vol. II: 360 pages, illus., biblio., index. 2 vols. boxed, \$40.00.)

The mills along the Merrimac may one by one shut down or move to the streams of North Carolina, and even the banks of Boston may not be in inspiration to the bankers of tomorrow, but the dream of New England will never die. Most Americans, no matter how indifferent they may be to the credit balances of cotton mills and banking houses, will always believe that somewhere in New England may be found the ideal village, with its unostentatious church, and its equally unostentatious homes. All travelers in search of this ideal will acknowledge that it is to be found, not in Massachusetts, with its blighted mill towns, not in Rhode Island, with its monuments to merchant wealth in Providence and its memorials to millionaires in Newport, no, not in Vermont or New Hampshire either, but in the hamlets of Connecticut.

Something like 175 years ago the painter-to-be John Trumbull was so enchanted with the charm of Connecticut that he caused his solid father Governor Jonathan Trumbull considerable worry. "You forget, sir," the older Trumbull warned his son on the eve of his career in the fine arts, "that Connecticut is not Athens." And 50 years ago Henry James came back to visit his native land permitted himself a sigh at Farmington. "Nothing," James admitted, "could be more fastidious and exceptional, and thereby more impressive in advance, than such upliftedness in posture."

Which reminds us that we owe a great debt to the late Mr. Kelly for a lifetime devoted to the study of Connecticut architecture. If building

in colonial Connecticut never reached the high level of Virginia and South Carolina, it was none the less eloquent of the finest aspect of a land as yet untouched by luxury, and none the less worthy of the attention of scholars. Mr. Kelly, who knew all that was worth knowing about the early builders and buildings, had just completed this, his most formidable contribution to the history of American architecture, at the time of his death.

Mr. Kelly was not a master of English prose, but surely the fault may be forgiven, for in these two volumes scholars will find all the facts worth hunting for, and such was the doggedness of Mr. Kelly as a researcher, that no one will ever have to delve again into the town and parish records. Here we have, not only the chronicle of the development of the architectural style of the meetinghouses, but also the story of the as-yet-unsung builders whose craft even the most casual tourist to Farmington, Litchfield, or Brooklyn is obliged to respect and admire.

One regrets only that these two volumes were so lavishly printed that their price puts them quite beyond the reach of most of us. One wonders why full-page plates were made of Mr. Kelly's negatives. Though he deserves the greatest credit for photographing all of the buildings he described, he was in no sense an artist with the camera, and if his pictures had been reproduced with less magnificence, there would have been no loss. A compact one-volume edition, selling for five or six dollars, would have been a much better memorial to the author.

The New-York Historical Society

WAYNE ANDREWS

A Life of General John Stark of New Hampshire. By HOWARD PARKER MOORE. (New York: The Author, 414 E. 52d St., 1949. 539 pages, illus., biblio., index. \$5.00.)

Howard Parker Moore has written and published a life of Major-General John Stark which is recommended to all serious students of the French and Indian War and, particularly, of the American Revolution. As the author says in his preface: "John Stark was not a great man, but he was permitted, under Providence, to do at least two things, great in their time and place, each energizing with lasting effect the patriot cause in the American Revolution." First, the least important: he held the line at Bunker Hill in June 1775; and secondly: at Bennington, in August 1777, he won a decisive victory which was the first setback encountered by the advancing army of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne in the British effort to split the Colonies, and this victory gave the Americans new hope and helped to rally the soldiers who made possible the great victory at Saratoga.

Stark was primarily a military man and this biography, consequently, bears heavily upon his military career. Little, in comparison, is known

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of his early and private life. He left no personal correspondence, and only one letter has survived from one of his sons to himself—all of which has entailed, on Mr. Moore's part, a patient search for existing Stark material to piece together, as best as is possible, the scattered fragments of his life. One is impressed upon opening the book with the thoroughness of the author's research. He delves with minute detail into all of Stark's known activities and he gives comprehensive details of camp life and troop movements. He has ransacked Provincial and State papers, church records, wills, deeds, birth, marriage, and death records, newspapers, and the rich collections of documents, in many repositories, gathered by the officers who were associated with Stark.

Stark, himself, was born at Londonderry, New Hampshire, on August 28, 1728, of poor farmer-folk of Scottish ancestry. Raised on the frontier, receiving only a poor education, he soon became familiar with the vast New England wilderness which bordered on French Canada. With the coming of the French and Indian War, he enlisted in the famous ranger corps commanded by Major Robert Rogers. The book follows in considerable detail the story of the journeys and fights and the reconnoitring of the rangers on Lakes George and Champlain and their cantonments in the frontier forts on the upper Hudson and on the Lakes. Stark was a man with an iron frame. He served in the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point and continued in service until the closing months of the war in America, when, retiring as a Captain and having married, he withdrew to his farm, built mills, engaged in the development of the new town of Dunbarton, and lived quietly until the outbreak of the American Revolution.

After war broke in Massachusetts at Lexington and Concord, Stark was elected Colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment. He came to Cambridge, served at Bunker Hill and at the siege of Boston, and in 1776 was ordered to New York and then to Canada. He joined the beaten, smallpox-ridden American Army at St. Johns, participated in the retreat from Canada to the Ticonderoga fortress, and then, at the close of the year, went with the reinforcements which were sent to join Washington. He arrived at the Delaware in time to fight at Trenton.

In March 1777 he resigned his Colonel's commission in disgust after the Continental Congress appointed Colonel Enoch Poor to be a Brigadier-General in place of Stark, who was the senior ranking officer of the New Hampshire troops. He returned home in bitterness, but the Burgoyne invasion, the fall of Ticonderoga, and the American defeat at Hubbardton threw New England into turmoil and aroused the New Hampshiremen to renewed efforts to defend their threatened homeland. Stark was recalled in July as a Brigadier-General of New Hampshire militia, and he was accountable only to the State of New Hampshire. His brilliant victory over the Germans and Loyalists at Bennington made it impossible for Congress to overlook his claim to advancement, and on

October 4, 1777, he was commissioned by the Continental Congress to be a Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States. It was at Bennington, also, that John Stark gained renown for a battle slogan which has come down as one of the famous military utterances of the war: "There are the redcoats and they are ours or this night Molly Stark sleeps a widow!" This is only one of several versions of Stark's remark, which Mr. Moore has carefully investigated.

After 1777 Stark continued in the Continental service to the end of the struggle, but his lot was of a fairly routine military nature. In 1778 he was in command of the Northern Department at Albany; in 1779 he served under Gates at Rhode Island; in 1780 he joined the Army at Morristown, served in June at the Battle of Springfield, and sat in September on the Board which tried Major John André at Tappan. In 1781 he again was in command of the Northern Department with headquarters at Saratoga, but an attack of rheumatism in 1782 incapacitated him from active service until the following year when he rejoined the Army, becoming a brevet Major-General in September 1783.

After the war Stark retired to the New Hampshire hills and spent the passing years with his family and the memory of Bennington. When he died on May 8, 1822, his remains were interred with military honors in a cemetery on his estate, and seven years later, on the anniversary of Bennington, a shaft of Concord granite was erected above the grave with this simple inscription: "M. G. John Stark."

Stark was a man of strong character—an individualist of integrity, courage, and energy, who served in the wars with skill. Other officers at times found him cantankerous, irascible, and outspoken, but, though he lacked education, he was a man of sound common sense and of stern unswerving principles: frank and free from the pretense which characterized some of his fellows. Mr. Moore's *Life of General John Stark* is an excellent book which does justice to the victor of Bennington.

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RICHARD J. KOKE

Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind. BY MAX SAVELLE
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. xix + 587 + xxi pages, illus., indexed. \$6.50.)

It is not easy to state with any confidence the meaning of Max Savelle's massive study of the American mind before the Revolution. Although avowedly devoted to the documentation of one theme, it actually floats between two. Explicitly, the author declares his intention to establish "that it was the fathers of the Revolutionary generation who really formulated the American way of life for which that generation fought." With this thought in mind, he carefully reviews the political, social, economic, and artistic ideas of the group of colonials born before 1730 who "gave the mind of America its first genuinely native expression, precisely

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in the 1750's." Here is a proposition bold, specific, and substantially original.

But the author seems to devote even more attention to another theme, less original and very much broader. Actually, it is not the uniqueness of this specific group of men which receives the emphasis; the focus is rather upon several generations of colonists who, in a hundred years or more, contributed to the development of a distinctly American culture.

These two themes—the special characteristic of the figures of the 1750's on the one hand, the gradual evolution of an American mind on the other—are not wholly antagonistic. Indeed, it is the author's intention to present the mind of the 1750's as a culmination of a century of development. However, the path to his special decade is often so clear that it is strewn with "genuinely native expression" produced many years before the French and Indian War.

For example, John Wise's writings are presented as a kind of culmination of pre-Revolutionary thought on political democracy; yet Wise was a contemporary of Cotton Mather and died in 1725. The log cabins which the Swedes erected in the 17th century on the banks of the Delaware and the frame houses of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were certainly as indigenous and became as traditionally American as the Georgian and Gothic structures of Jefferson's adolescence. In the field of painting, the flat severity of the American primitives who inhabited the Boston of Increase Mather represented a native tradition which Copley and West were to dilute with European techniques in the last half of the following century. Savelle is careful to describe these inconsistencies but he is reluctant to show how they modify his premise. In a sense, the more substantially the author establishes his general theme of the growth of a national ideology, the less meaning he can attach to its particular expression by any single generation.

The special concentration upon the period just preceding the imperial reorganization after the Treaty of Paris in 1763 has special significance for students of the Revolution. Indeed, Savelle's delineation of the American mind of the 1750's is a direct assault on the idea that the break with the mother country can be attributed fundamentally to the retraining legislation of the thirteen years preceding the Declaration of Independence. It is, of course, a valuable contribution to collect in one place such voluminous evidence in support of the alternative thesis which asserts that one hundred and fifty years of development towards a new culture underlay the revolutionary action. But the latter view is scarcely original one; there are few historians who think otherwise.

It does not appear that the author has established irrefutably that the first genuinely native expression appeared "precisely in the 1750's," or that he has broken new ground by identifying an "embryonic" nationalism in colonial America a generation before independence. On the other hand, he has made a substantial contribution in the difficult and much-

neglected field of intellectual history. This contribution is both interpretative and descriptive. What special meaning he has added relates to the concept of the gradual birth of a unique American culture, founded in the geography of the settlements and in the ideologies of the immigrants. It is a fruitful thesis—not one which Savelle created but one which he has explored and documented with assiduity and imagination.

As a description of "the American Mind," the book lacks the brilliancy of Parrington's first volume, but its coverage is very much greater. For Savelle attempts systematically to offer illustrations not only of all the "native" trends and imitative schools within every field of expression, but also for each of the colonial classes—an ambitious and worthwhile undertaking. Yet this method, combined with the author's intellectual honesty, tends to reveal in a most striking fashion the very incomplete record which remains of what the "common man" actually thought and created. Ninety percent of the evidence deals with the best educated and wealthiest ten percent of the population.

This is especially unfortunate when one attributed so much of native American developments to the frontier. If Savelle discusses literature, he must confess that frontier literature was practically non-existent. A thirty-page chapter on philosophy is introduced by the statement that "philosophy . . . was the possession of neither the middle class nor of the underprivileged." When he discusses the democratic political thinking of frontiersmen and town laborers, he must first say that "few of these were articulate enough to make themselves heard," and then lean most heavily on John Wise, hardly typical of the group, to voice these democratic thoughts. No true representative of the frontier is available to express its social concepts; instead they must be heard through observers like the Reverend Andrew Burnaby and Crèvecoeur. This is not so much a deficiency in the author as it is in his material. Yet one can regret that this obstacle was not made more explicit; and one can wonder, in view of the paucity of material concerning ninety percent of the colonists, how he can summarize so confidently that the "middle class . . . most substantially represented the mind of the great majority of the Americans."

It is only fair to conclude on a note of praise. Historical works which stimulate are always open to question. Those which can be accepted without reservation are usually conceived in such limited terms that their perfection is as much a function of their modesty as of their merit. Savelle's book is anything but cautious; it is a penetrating and large-scale inquiry into an elusive subject. If he falls somewhat short of establishing a special role for the ideological expressions of the 1750's, he has assembled so much significant material, and couched it in an exposition so pregnant with meaning, that this specific failure, if indeed it is one, is scarcely to be noticed.

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Franklin Jonathan Williams and William Pitt: A Letter of January 21, 1775. BY BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Library, 1949. 24 pages, paper covers. \$1.00.)

In its largest aspect, the American Revolution was a milestone on the then horizon of the world's progress toward liberty and democracy. From this point of view, Jonathan Williams' report on Chatham's motion of January 20, 1775, comes to remind us how vital a factor were British politics in the successful passing of that milestone.

As a youth of twenty-four, Williams, a kinsman of Franklin, had the rare privilege of attending the House of Lords when the motion for the withdrawal of the British troops from Boston, made by William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham, was debated by that body. Dr. Bernhard Knollenberg has set his excellently edited presentation of the Williams report in a framework consisting both of an introduction—restricted to the immediate events leading to Chatham's motion—and of a short conclusion. Here Dr. Knollenberg judges the report by Williams to be not only "mature" but superior "in terseness and vivacity" to the well-known similar reports made by Josiah Quincy, Jr., and by Hugh Boyd. In the opinion of this reviewer, this framework is inadequate in that it fails to mention the great constitutional controversies which were being discussed, which alone can lay the foundation for an adequate understanding of the debate being reported on. Only in the light of such an understanding can we make an incisive evaluation of the relative merit of the three reports. Franklin's kinsman in fact was listening to a debate wherein the whole constitutional problem of the relationship of the Colonies to the British Empire—the very crux of the issues involved in the American Revolution—was being debated. It may fairly be stated that his report shows a depth of understanding of the issues involved as well as an acumen that penetrated the complexity of British politics which is not to be found in the reports of Quincy and Boyd. Of the three reports, in fact, that of Williams alone directs attention to an aspect of British politics, the full significance of which is being comprehended only by modern scholarship. In order to understand why this unique insight on Williams' part was so important, enough of the philosophical background should have been presented for a proper understanding of the constitutional controversy which was challenging contemporary thought.

Constitutionally, the importance of the decade preceding Lord Chatham's motion centered on the omnipotence of Parliament. Resistance to measures designed to tax or punish the Colonies was justified in America on grounds that limited or denied the right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies. The Stamp Act controversy had raised the constitutional question as to where the power to tax the Colonies lay. Was it in Parliament where the Americans claimed they were not, and from their

local circumstances could not be, represented, but where the British claimed they enjoyed "virtual representation"? Or was it in Colonial legislatures where in *practice* it had resided before imperial reorganization, following the peace of 1763, made new methods of financing appear necessary?

Confronted with an accepted constitutional *theory* regarding the supremacy of Parliament which supported such an injustice as taxation without representation, Americans sought to replace it by one of their own, so formulated as to justify liberty. Drawing on John Locke and other political philosophers, Americans came to regard the British constitution as being fixed rather than evolutionary in character. Embodied therein were the immutable laws of nature stressing human rights, including those of life, liberty, and property, which it was the duty of the state to protect. The power of Parliament was restricted to acts that did not threaten these constitutional guarantees. Under this concept of the British constitution, the Colonists appealed from their charter rights to their rights as Englishmen, claiming they could constitutionally be taxed only by their local assemblies in which alone they were represented.

Although denying the right of Parliament to tax them—and, after 1767, to legislate with regard to their internal polity—moderate thought in the Colonies recognized the traditional right of Parliament to regulate colonial commerce and strictly imperial affairs. Radical thought, however, advanced to the position where, dreading a Parliament influenced by pressure groups more than the king and his ministers, and desiring home rule, they renounced Parliament and advocated an allegiance to the king alone.

American insistence on combining grievances with a statement of principles stressing fundamental human rights at the expense of Parliamentary authority challenged all political faiths in Great Britain. The doctrine of Parliamentary supremacy, being a Whig creation following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, was generally accepted in the mother country as indeed it had been widely accepted in the Colonies themselves. The king and his "friends" sought to control rather than oppose Parliament. They therefore identified themselves with Parliamentary supremacy over America. The followers of Lord Rockingham likewise supported the doctrine, as it was the basis on which the political power of the Whig aristocracy had rested ever since the Revolution. So they prefaced their repeal of the Stamp Act with the famous Declaratory Act affirming the supremacy of Parliament "in all cases whatsoever." Only the rebel Whig Pitt took a position similar to that of the moderates in America. While denying to Parliament the power to levy an internal tax on the Colonies, Pitt made it plain that otherwise Parliamentary power over the Colonies was "sovereign and supreme." Both Pitt and the Rockingham Whigs were essentially friendly to America. Since the principles of the latter precluded any constitutional settlement of the American

problem, they sought by avoiding further public avowals of their cardinal principle—the supremacy of Parliament—to arrive at practical solutions as problems might arise, aiming at a return to the past. To many Americans, there seemed to be but slight *practical* difference between Pitt's policy of restricting the power of Parliament and that of the Rockingham Whigs of retaining it unused.

Colonial efforts to obtain a redress of grievances short of war following the famous Boston Tea Party seemed to many Americans most likely to prove successful if those grievances were presented in a manner conservative enough to retain the support of Pitt and the Rockingham Whigs. For hadn't they, together with the great body of British merchants, been powerful enough to force a policy of reconciliation through Parliament in 1766 and again in 1770? Although success in the first Continental Congress was not commensurate with their efforts, the moderates nevertheless made substantial gains. Even the stringent and extra-legal non-intercourse acts passed by this Congress were old weapons of commercial pressure which had permanent reconciliation for their aim. Moreover the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" then passed embodied in it a modified form of the moderate doctrine of restricted Parliamentary authority, by which the Colonies voluntarily consented to Parliamentary regulation of their trade. This modification was too slight to be likely to alienate the support of Pitt. Furthermore, by failing to mention the Declaratory Act as a grievance, this famous Declaration also made an appeal for the support of the Rockingham Whigs.

The moderate appeal of the first Continental Congress succeeded in winning the support of Chatham, as his conciliatory motion and supporting speeches for the removal of the British troops from Boston amply testify. Moreover, the motion received the support of the Rockingham Whigs. It was, however, rejected by a vote of 68 to 18. In the words of Franklin, the motion "avail'd no more than the whistling of the winds." Many must have been the speculators who, like Franklin, attributed the cause of the failure to the bloc formed by the voting "together unanimously" of the henchmen of the king and his subservient minister, Lord North. This was, of course, the main reason for the Whig defeat. But there was a more subtle and vitally important contributing cause. In an evidently disturbed state of mind, young Williams indicated it when he wrote: "Lord Rockingham . . . seemed but partly in our favour.—That Declaratory Act of his, is a great stumbling Block to his patriotism. . . ." What was essentially necessary for the success of this preliminary step to reconciliation was the coöperative effort of Pitt and the Rockingham Whigs. That, however, as Williams indicates, was sadly lacking. The Declaratory Act stood in the way. Although Pitt and the Rockingham Whigs desired to prevent the destruction of the Empire—and although both were threatened by, and sought to oppose, the king's political activities which were making Parliament subservient to the Crown, a wide

gulf actually separated the two factions. They in fact represented different constituencies, different methods and different aims and ideals.

With Edmund Burke as their driving force, the Rockingham Whigs represented the restrained but essentially feudal ambitions of the aristocracy. Allied to them was a preponderance of the powerful mercantile and financial interests of the kingdom, as well as religious dissenters. When the king started to take over the Whig system of patronage, inherited from Walpole, the Rockingham Whigs were forced to fight him without destroying the source of his power, which was also theirs. Threatened by a *Zeitgeist* which was starting to demand reform at home and in the Colonies, the Rockingham Whigs were forced into a negative defense of liberty which stressed immediate issues while resisting encroachments upon existing constitutional rights. This cut them off from the growing force of public opinion and prevented them from leading any popular crusade. They were compelled, therefore, to rally opposition to the king around an aristocratic group and to develop the concept of party. On the theory of Parliamentary sovereignty they were forced to take the same position as the king—making practical concessions wherever possible—as it was the source of their political power and upon it depended their following in the Commons.

The Whig theory of Parliamentary supremacy, accompanied as it was by the practical necessities of patronage and party had early been attacked by Chatham, who regarded patronage as corruption and party as faction anti-national in character. Chatham's doctrines have been gravely censured as being closely akin to those of Bolingbroke, without, however, the motivating force and ultimate aims of the two men being proven to be alike. Chatham has also been criticized for failing to divine in the Whig system of patronage and party a forerunner of the cabinet system of government. This criticism fails to judge him by the standards of his time. So judged, especially with regard to the great constitutional issues which confronted the Empire, he emerges nearer the judgment passed by young Williams than some modern historians are willing to admit. In the last analysis, Chatham was more willing to face the *Zeitgeist* and to make the liberal principles of the Glorious Revolution living ones of change. If he erred in raising the question of the Declaratory Act in this debate, when practical politics made silence seem advisable, it was probably because he saw the threat of an acknowledged principle, inconsistent with Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, which however dormant it might lie, could nevertheless be used in the future to disrupt the Empire. This constitutional question he wished to have settled so that his beloved ideal of a united nation and empire based on liberty might survive. To attain these aims, he went much further than the Rockingham Whigs in making the adjustments necessary to keep long-range transformations in evolutionary channels rather than allow them to become diverted to revolutionary ones. It is significant that young Wil-

Book Reviews and Notices

liams, as he reflected upon the debate, could regard Chatham as a "great and good old man" and at the same time see Rockingham in the light of a man possessing a humanity conditioned by party interest.

Dr. Knollenberg is to be congratulated on calling the attention of scholars to this intensely interesting manuscript and for rescuing young Williams from oblivion. This reviewer likes to think how very appropriate it is that Dr. Knollenberg, the former librarian of Yale University—the depository of the great collection of Benjamin Franklin materials given by Mr. William Smith Mason—should be the person to accomplish the task of bringing, through the medium of his excellent article, the report of Franklin's great-nephew from Indiana to New Haven, there to join those of his celebrated kinsman.

The New-York Historical Society

E. MARIE BECKER

The Army Air Force in World War II—Volume One, Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942. By Office of Air Force History under the editorship of WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN and JAMES LEA CATE. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1948. xxxi + 788 pages, appendices, glossary, index, maps and charts, illus. \$5.00.)

This, the first of seven volumes, is the well-documented, scholarly history of our youngest military service. While not strictly an "official report," it is the attempt of a group of professionally trained historians to present a "balanced synthesis of available knowledge of modern aerial warfare" to which an increasingly air-minded public can turn. Under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago an academic outlook, with freedom of interpretation and integrity to facts, whether good or bad, victories or defeats, has been the constant aim—an attitude too often missing in military histories. To accomplish this the staff has had complete access to all pertinent documents in the files of the AAF, even during the war while those files were still active.

Volume One deals with our pre-Pearl Harbor air arm, its heritage from 1919, and its preparations and deployment previous to December 7, 1941. Then, in more detail, it presents the hectic story of the first eight or ten months of the air war, with its small-scale operations, defeat and retreat, and development of strategy and tactics to cover operations in far corners of the world as well as for home defense. This volume may perhaps be the most valuable of the entire work in that it covers an important preparatory period that has been over-shadowed by the deeds, the victories, and the immense scale of operations that followed upon the last event described here—our first successful bombing offensive over Europe, the Rouen-Sotteville mission of August 17, 1942.

The New-York Historical Society

ROBERTA LEIGHTON

Book Reviews and Notices

American Folk Art in Wood, Metal, and Stone. By JEAN LIPMAN. (New York: Pantheon Press, 1948. 193 pages, biblio., 183 illus., 4 colorplates. \$7.50.)

This is the first general survey of American folk sculpture. It is a subject which has been strangely neglected in that it represents an indigenous folk art of these United States. This craft-art is an actual expression of American experiences, as in the popular Indian archer translated into a weathervane, the more noble wooden Chief beckoning trade into the cigar store, or the whaling captain's good wife caricatured as a figurehead on the prow of his vessel. These forms are a celebration of the efforts of untrained and often anonymous craftsmen who worked in metal, wood, and stone. Our heritage of trade signs, toys, gravestone portraits, carousel animals comes from their hands.

The book is generously illustrated although it is regrettable that the small tag labels beneath the reproductions were not expanded into full-size legends. The ever-useful index would have been a good and important addition as well! However, *American Folk Art* offers, as did Miss Lipman's earlier book on American Primitive painting, lively reading and points the way for further research and interest in this branch of truly American art.

The New-York Historical Society

ROBERTA M. PAINE

Old Wye Church, Tabbot County, Maryland, 1694-1949: A History of Saint Luke's at Wye Mills, a Chapel of Ease of Saint Paul's Parish (Old Chester Church) from the Time of the Establishment in 1692 to the Restoration of the Building in 1949. . . . By ELIZABETH MERRITT, Editor of *Archives of Maryland*, Together with the Story of the Work of Reconstruction by WILLIAM GRAVES PERRY, Architect-in-Charge. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1949. 42 pages, biblio., paper covers.)

This well-written, well-documented little history contains material of wider interest than might be evident from its title. There are, for instance, some juicy bits about the gentlemen of the cloth: "The Reverend John Lillingstone, the first known rector . . . in 1692 . . . was brought before the court for prolonged and aggravated drunken carousing, and he was saved only as an act of grace in view of their majesties' 'happy success, and late victory against the French.'" A hundred years later the vestry "got rid of Rev. Mr. Barclay" for reasons "not stated. But in 1811, in another place, Barclay answered a charge of bigamy by pleading fornication." During the first decade of the 19th century, "The Rev. John Hooker Reynolds . . . is said to have made himself obnoxious . . . by his attempts to collect the salary due him, 'with so much meanness &

vigor as to render him an object of contempt to every man & woman in his parish,' and to have done more harm to the church than a dozen camp-meetings could have done."

In the hey-day of Colonial church establishment, "the county government paid to the vestry forty pounds of good merchantable tobacco for every taxable in the parish. A taxable was any one over sixteen years old who was either a freeman or a male servant imported, or any slave, male or female. Clergymen and paupers were not taxables. In 1693, there were 629 taxables in St. Paul's, so that the vestry had the disposal of 25,160 lbs of tobacco. . . . vestries had many duties more governmental than churchly. . . . prosecutions for fornication began in the parish. . . . It was for the vestry to appoint the counters of tobacco plants, and the inspectors of tobacco. . . . When it was enacted that any person owing tobacco could discharge his debt at the rate of twelve shillings per hundred pounds, the clergy protested. . . ." In 1700 an increase of ten pounds of tobacco per poll was granted. This was the first of more than forty requests, uniformly granted, for the extra tax before the Revolution terminated all tax support of church establishment.

No wonder churchmen opposed the Revolution. Forced to rely on voluntary contributions only, the parishes "fell on evil days. Communicants as well as revenues almost vanished." As late as 1821, "a clergyman with a family" met "a very inadequate support." The vestry, nevertheless, were particular in their qualifications for a rector. Dissenters would not do and Democrats were frowned upon. In 1815 Bishop Kent received the following request: "Is it practicable to get a clergyman of purity and inexceptionable moral character who has talent and information and is a good Federalist? Our late rector was a worthy excellent man . . . but he was—between us—a warm Democrat. . . . Besides if the rector is a pious and sensible man the circumstances of his being a Democrat gives strength and countenance to a bad cause. . . ."

Miss Merritt's narrative is studded with gems of information useful to the social historian. In 1722, "John Fitzpatrick was voted 1000 pounds of tobacco 'on account of his Wife Sweeping and Cleaning Wye Church,'" but "After the Revolution, Negro Jacob or Negro Stephen was sexton, at a yearly salary of \$8.00. Negro Jacob not only cleaned the church, he was present at services and held the door open as the people came and went." In 1729 "the said Vestrymen Ordered that the following Books be sent for to Mr. [William] Parks at Annapolis and the price hereafter mentioned to be paid for them Viz. One table of Marriages printed on parchment lbs 30 tobo. Two Record Books with ten quire of paper Each and one Compleat Body of Law to this time well bound and titled on the back with Gold Leaf for St. Pauls parish in Queen Anns County Maryland for 750 [pounds of tobacco]."

C.E.B.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

A CALENDAR of the events and functions at the Society from its opening after the August vacation until the end of 1949 follows:

September 2: Visit by members of the United Amateur Press Association to see a special exhibition of amateur periodicals. (Exhibition continued through October 23d.)

October 1: Meeting of the Association of Laboratory Assistants of New York City High Schools.

October 2: Winter series of Sunday afternoon organ programs begun, with Mr. Marshall Bush at the console.

October 4: Lecture for members and friends, "Bookplates" by Carlyle S. Baer, followed by a private viewing of the special exhibition, EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN BOOKPLATES from the collection of Oliver C. Sheean. (Exhibition continued through December 6th.)

October 8: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "Panorama of Our Past," first of a series of ten free weekly motion picture programs on our nation's history.

October 13: Opening of the special exhibition, OUR CITY HALL IN HISTORY, and inauguration of the radio series, "His Honor the Mayor." Auditorium program included addresses by Hon. William O'Dwyer, Mayor, Dr. Elias Lieberman, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Dr. LeRoy Kimball, Mr. Percival R. Moses, President of The Greater New York Civic Center Association, and Hon. Robert W. Dowling, Chairman of Civic Center Association, presiding. (Exhibition to continue through March 12th.)

October 15: High School History Program, "In the Days of Wigs and Gunpowder," illustrated lecture and demonstration by Miss Pless, and a feature film, "Drums Along the Mohawk." FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "Colonial Days and Ways."

October 22: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "The Rise of Liberty."

October 29: School Art League Program: "Humor in Advertising Art" by Arnold Shaw. FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "Men of Freedom."

November 1: Lecture for members and friends, "The Garson Collection of Historical Menus" by O. Andreas Garson, and private showing of the special exhibition of his collection. (Exhibition to continue through January 8th.)

November 5: School Art League Program: "How Pictures Get on

Activities of the Society

Paper" by George Laszlo. FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "Foundations of Our Government."

November 11: Meeting of Historical Society of Middletown and Wallkill Precinct, including a general tour of the building conducted by Mr. Vail and Mr. Wall, a demonstration of early American household contrivances and a showing of the film, "18th-Century Life in Williamsburg, Virginia."

November 12: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "The Young Republic."

November 16: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

November 19: High School History Program, "The Great California Gold Rush," illustrated lecture by Miss Pless, and a feature film, "Western Union." FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "The Period of Our Civil War."

November 26: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "The Growth of the West."

December 3: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "The Turn of the Century."

December 6: St. Nicholas Day Program for members and friends, including a lecture illustrated with color motion pictures, "Wandering Around South America," by Mr. Harold McCracken, followed by a collation and music in Dexter Hall.

December 10: FILM PAGEANT OF AMERICA: "History in Our Time."

December 17: Opening of a special display on Gramercy Park. (To remain through February 19th.)

In the Fall of 1945 Mr. Vail, the Society's director, delivered a series of three lectures for the Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania. In November last, the fruits of these labors appeared in book form: *The Voice of the Old Frontier*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Consisting of 492 pages, this volume, in addition to reproducing the three lectures, contains a bibliography of 1300 items on North American Frontier Literature complete with line titles and locations of existing copies.

Mr. Vail is also again conducting, with the assistance of other members of the staff, the Columbia University graduate course, *Resources and Methods of the American Historical Society Libraries*, the first class of which met at the Society on October 3d, to continue through January 20.

Two sketching classes from City College met in the Society's building during the fall season and Dr. Sidney Pomerantz's two classes of graduate students on New York City History and on American Business History met here December 5th and 8th respectively, for discussions with Miss Barck, Librarian, as to the Society's holdings in these fields.

Activities of the Society

Miss Barck attended meetings of the American Historical Association, American Association for State and Local History, and the Society of American Archivists in Boston on December 28th and 29th. With Mr. Leech, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, she represented the Society at the New York Chapter meeting of the National Society of Autograph Collectors on November 17th and with Mr. Carlson, Curator of Maps and Prints, at the annual meeting of the Steamship Historical Society held in the Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia, October 29th.

Mr. Carlson continues to hold the office of Secretary for both the national and local Geography and Map Groups of the Special Libraries Association and Miss Watkins, Head Cataloguer, was appointed Secretary for the Museum Group.

The Editorial office has announced the issuance of four publications. They are: *John Wesley Jarvis: American Painter 1780-1840, with a Checklist of His Works*, by Harold E. Dickson, a full-length biography and critical study, including a catalogue of all of Jarvis' works known to exist and 105 illustrations (price \$10.00, 20% discount to members); *Entre Nous: An Intimate Portrait of Alexander J. Wall*, by Lillian B. Wall, being a memorial biography of the Society's late director (price \$3.00); *Gold Fever: A Catalogue of the California Gold Rush Centennial Exhibition* at The New-York Historical Society, by R. W. G. Vail, with 20 illustrations of outstanding items (price \$1.00); and a *Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Prints and Postcards for Sale by The New-York Historical Society*, compiled by Miss Roberta Leighton, editorial assistant. This is the first complete catalogue of the Society's publications to be issued since 1904 and lists 320 titles, some of them multi-volumed, and over 125 pictorial items. The catalogue, provided with an index, may be obtained without charge upon request.

Among the future activities scheduled are an illustrated lecture by Mr. Wayne Andrews on "Architecture of Romantic America," and a private showing of the special exhibition, 20TH CENTURY NEW YORK: PEN AND INK SKETCHES BY VERNON HOWE BAILEY, on Wednesday evening, January 11th; an illustrated talk on Powder Horns by Mr. Stephen Grancsay, Curator of Arms and Armor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, on Tuesday evening, February 7th; and an account by Mrs. Verne Leslie Smith of her war experiences in the hands of the Japanese in Manila on Tuesday evening, March 7th.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

PLASTER group, *The Bushwhacker—The Wife's Appeal for Peace*, by John Rogers, 1864. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frank L. Adams.*

Two watercolors, *Bethesda Fountain*, and *Harbor Scene, New York*, painted by the donor in 1948. *Gift of Mr. Frederic Albrecht.*

Portrait of *Henry H. Panton, Sr.* (c. 1782–1835) by John Wesley Jarvis. *Gift of Mrs. Nelson K. Benton.*

Volume of bookplates designed by the late Henry Pelouze de Forest; eight volumes of bookplates collected by him; correspondence of Henry Pelouze de Forest, M.D. (1864–1948) as Secretary of Class of 1884, Cornell University and Secretary of Class of 1890, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University. *Gift of Mrs. Henry Pelouze de Forest.*

Seventeenth-century pine chest which probably belonged to Captain Increase Holly of Stamford, Connecticut, ancestor of the donor. *Gift of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot.*

Portrait of *Mary Devore McDonough* (1794–1876), great-grandmother of donor, and of *Mary McDonough*, great-aunt of donor, by Jeremiah L. Harding. *Gift of Mr. Arthur L. Dunham.*

Watercolor, *A Surround* by Alfred Jacob Miller, 1840. *Gift of Messrs. Charles E. Dunlap, Thomas W. Streeter, Forsyth Wickes, Louis C. Wills, and George A. Zabriskie.*

Gold filigree jewelry which belonged to Mrs. Zachariah Lamar, great-grandmother of donor; hair bracelet and velvet cape which belonged to Mrs. Howell Cobb of Georgia, founder of the Southern Cross of Honor. *Gift of Miss Mary Lamar Erwin.*

Large photograph of Fort Washington Park, New York City, September 1894, by George P. Hall and Son. *Gift of Mr. J. J. Fleming.*

Bronze cast of the left hand of Abraham Lincoln from the original made by Leonard W. Volk in 1860; medal of the Washington Bicentennial Commission designed by Laura Gardin Fraser. *Gift of Mr. Rodman Gilder.*

Microprints of the diary of John G. Bourke, U.S.A., 1871–1880, from the original manuscript in the library of the United States Military Academy at West Point. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Typescript copy in eight volumes of *The Magic of America*, a biography of Walter Burley Griffin, Chicago architect, by Mrs. Marion Mahony Griffin, the donor; collection of clippings concerning Walter Burley Griffin. *Gift of Mrs. Walter Burley Griffin.*

Additional material from the library of Major General Harbord supplementing that presented by Mrs. Harbord in 1948, including: 15 volumes and five folders of manuscripts, commissions, citations, and other material relating principally to his service in the Philippines and in World War I; 28 photographs of General Harbord and 33 snapshots of him and

Recent Accessions

his home; 11 autographed photographs of prominent military and political persons; 21 scrapbooks. *Gift of the Estate of James Guthrie Harbord.*

File of *New York Herald Tribune* from August 20, 1939 through December 1945. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. R. Haupt.*

Hose cart of the Exempt Firemen's Sons of Morrisania, c. 1875, an old volunteer fire company of the Melrose district of the Bronx. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Hoffmire and Miss Margaret Hoffmire.*

Memorial of Colonel Hugh Debbieg to King George III of England, dated December 3, 1787, with signed copy of his letter to William Pitt, October 14, 1786, relating to the defense of the kingdom. *Gift of Mr. J. G. E. Hopkins.*

Twenty-two scrapbooks of newspaper clippings relating to New York hotels, the Hotel Association of New York City and the annual hotel expositions, volume containing menus of New York City hotels in March, 1926; 218 booklets of New York hotels; the W. Johnson Quinn collection of lantern slides relating to hotels. *Gift of the Hotel Association of New York City.*

Collection of manuscripts concerning John Jay II (1817-1894) containing 171 receipted bills for household and personal accounts and 132 letters and printed circulars. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur Iselin.*

Three handkerchiefs with New York City scenes, and numerous additions to her business and professional collection. *Gift of Mrs. Bella C. Landauer.*

Fifty souvenir spoons collected by donor's mother. *Gift of Mr. Thomas O. Mabbott.*

Printed cotton kerchief, "Cleveland and Thurman," made for the presidential campaign of 1888; diary of Hopper Striker Mott, 1884-1889; three of his account books; letters and invitations to Mr. Mott with family letters and legal papers; typewritten copy of *Post Roads and By-Ways* and other writings by Mr. Mott about New York City, with research notes; two watercolors by Mr. Mott; 110 photographs, 11 stereographs, 39 postcards, 18 glass negatives, and 84 prints of New York City views; 55 New York City maps; 15 portraits. *Gift of Mrs. Hopper Striker Mott, supplementing 1931 gift.*

Early 19th-century druggist's mixing jar of glass; sections of 18th-century panelling. *Gift of Mrs. Katherine Prentis Murphy.*

Confederate shell, uniform and sword which belonged to Commander William Leonard Nicoll (1842-1887), uncle of the donor; iron safe used by Gerard Bancker (1740-1799), Treasurer of the State of New York. *Gift of Mr. William Leonard Nicoll.*

Bas-relief portrait of *Washington Irving* by Victor D. Brenner, from the Hudson River Day Line steamboat *Washington Irving*; bell from Robert Fulton's *Clermont*; wooden ticket box from the *Mary Powell*; fragment of bottle used in christening the *Peter Stuyvesant*, 1927; 347

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blueprints of details of construction of the *Washington Irving*, *Chauncey M. Depew*, *Mary Powell* and other Hudson River steamboats; supplemental collection of manuscripts of the Hudson River Day Line including leaflets, passes and other records; books about the Hudson River; photographs of the Hudson River and of steamboats. *Gift of Mr. Alfred Van Santvoord Olcott.*

Two dresses and a coat worn in 1861 by Joseph Allen Powers (1859-1912), father of donor, and a bib worn c. 1859. *Gift of Mr. A. E. Powers.* Bronze bas-relief of *Clendenin J. Ryan, Sr.* (1881-1939), by Paul Manhip. *Gift of Miss Eunice G. Rand.*

Cane made from the British Frigate *Cyane* which was presented to Captain Charles Stewart of the U.S. Frigate *Constitution*; fragment of the port shutter of the *Monitor* damaged by a shot from the *Merrimac*, given to Captain John Sanford Barnes, sailing master of the *Wabash*, father of donor; watercolor, "Launch[ing] of the Line of Battle Ship *Ohio* at New York Navy Yard, Brooklyn, . . . on May 30, 1820." *Gift of Mrs. Francis Rogers* (Cornelia Barnes), daughter of the late Captain John Sanford Barnes, founder of the Naval History Society.

Records of the New York City Patrol Corps, 1942-1945, including Roster of Officers and three volumes of reports and orders. *Gift of Colonel Montgomery Schuyler.*

Two-hundred-seventy-eight bills to her father, Henry Powell Ramsell of Newburgh and New York, from New York merchants such as Tiffany, R. H. Macy, Goupil, Dickel's Riding Academy; 57 bills for hotel accommodations in New York, New Jersey and Rhode Island; 64 volumes of yearbooks and membership books of various New York clubs; 50 announcements and bills for dues, 1874-1903. *Gift of Mrs. W. Clement Scott.*

Collection of 6,744 European and American bookplates and 70 Japanese bookplates; 30 volumes, pamphlets, and periodicals relating to bookplates; seven copperplates and two wood blocks for donor's own bookplates. *Gift of Mr. Oliver C. Sheean.*

Seven fans which belonged to the donor, including a wedding gift of 1891; marble bas-relief portrait of *Laura S. Holmann*, made in 1870 in Florence, Italy. *Gift of Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr.*

Two account books, 1833-1860, of Thomas Palmer, coat manufacturer, New York City. *Gift of Mrs. William Harvey Smith.*

Brass candlestick used by Lafayette when he stayed at an Inn in East-hester which was owned by donor's great-grandparents. *Gift of Mrs. Mary Boyce Spill.*

Nineteenth-century stoneware bottle, footstove, ice skates, and hand-
eigh. *Gift of Mrs. Anne Nicoll Wightman.*

Three commissions issued to Anthony Wills, donor's father, 1863, 1871, 1886, as captain and major in the New York National Guard, and as

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Aide-de-Camp in the Grand Army of the Republic; collection of material relating to the Long Island Tercentenary celebration in 1936, of which donor was chairman. *Gift of Mr. Louis C. Wills.*

Bronze death mask of *George Wesley Bellows* (1882-1925) by Alexander S. Calder; collection of 436 theater advertising posters from 1796 to the middle of the 19th century; engraving of *Great Cinereous Owl* drawn by John J. Audubon, 1837; petition signed by group of citizens of New York City asking the speedy passage of an act to prevent injury to animals, dated January 25, 1875. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERS, on their election, pay ten dollars as dues, and thereafter on the first day of January each year a like amount, or a life-membership fee of one hundred dollars in lieu of all other dues and fees. The contribution of one thousand dollars to the funds of the Society entitles the donor to be elected a Fellow for life. The contribution of five thousand dollars entitles the donor to be elected a Patron of the Society in perpetuity.

Members have the privilege of attending and of inviting guests to all the lectures and other functions of the Society, and they will receive *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* and its *Annual Report*.

Application for membership may be made on the following detachable form (or on a separate printed form which will be provided on request) and submitted to: Secretary, The New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I herewith present my application for membership in the Society:

Name

Address

Business or profession

Enclosed is my check to be used in payment of membership fee as indicated below, when I am elected:

..... Annual \$10 Fellow \$1000

..... Life \$100 Patron \$5000

I have the pleasure of referring to the following members of the Society with whom I am acquainted:

.....

.....

.....

[If you wish to state any special historical interests that you may have, please do so.]

Date

FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to "THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY," founded in the year 1804 and incorporated in the year 1809, the sum of Dollars.



THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CENTRAL PARK WEST & 77TH STREET
FOUNDED 1804

HOURS

THE LIBRARY

Open daily except Sundays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.
Holidays: 1 to 5 P.M.

THE ART GALLERIES AND MUSEUM

Open free to the public daily except Mondays,
from 1 to 5 P.M.
Saturdays: 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

The building is closed on New Year's Day, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, and during the month of August.

